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J. P. Marchant

from his Aunt's Will.



Eng'd by H. Meyer, from an original by I. Hoppner, R.A.

LIEUT. GENERAL

Sir Ralph Abercrombie,

Knight of the Order of the Bath,

Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces,

in the Mediterranean.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tum cari oculis Her*

Mr. G. P. ...

HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EXPEDITION
TO
EGYPT;

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,
A SKETCH of the PRESENT STATE of that COUNTRY
AND
ITS MEANS OF DEFENCE.

Illustrated with Maps, and a Portrait of
SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY.

BY ROBERT THOMAS WILSON,
Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry in his Britannic Majesty's Service, and
Knight of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresia.

VOL. I.

— *Ingens, insigne, recens, adhuc*
Indictum ore alio. HOR. Carm.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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1803.

which was never outrivalled in the most brilliant æra of the English history.

When your Royal Highness assumed the command, abuses had disordered the service. Your judicious regulations, impartially executed, instantly checked their pernicious influence, and soon recovered to the profession that respect which for a time had been denied, finally establishing it on the basis of honour, emulation, and merit.

This language, Sir, strictly represents the general sentiment of your country, whose honest eulogies must be much more gratifying than all the panegyrics which adulation could indite.

To you, Sir, must also be attributed those arrangements and that impulse of zeal, which, notwithstanding the severe losses in the war, placed at the disposal of government, to carry on a ninth campaign, the force which composed the Egyptian army :

army ; an army which, whilst manifesting so conspicuously that national valour, which your Royal Highness has so often witnessed, and animated by your presence, appropriates to itself a celebrity for unrivalled discipline.

I am aware, Sir, that I have undertaken a very difficult task, and with anxiety await the result ; yet I trust, that if in the enquiry I have pursued, some opinions may appear indiscreet, your Royal Highness's candour will prefer a work on such a subject, when written with freedom, rather than one circumscribed by restraint.

My object has been to write truths, to avoid flattery or calumny ; nor should a statement of some facts introduced into this History be imputed to the latter motive.

If the narrative be approved, I shall indeed feel pride in having faithfully recorded the events of their illustrious cam-

paign ; and at all events I shall hope, that zeal will excuse, in some favourable degree, any want of ability.

With every sentiment of gratitude, and with the ardent hope that your Royal Highness may long live to command the British army, and see its glories extended, I remain

Your Royal Highness's

Most devoted Servant,

ROBERT WILSON,

Lt. Col. Hompesch's Huss.



P R E F A C E.

WHEN a military man hazards a publication, he should, if possible, avert the severity of criticism from his work ; and the author hopes, that an appeal to the consideration and good nature of the learned will in this instance procure him their indulgence, since he does not presume to rank himself in their number, nor can the writings of a foldier affect the credit of literature.

As none of the Universities provide an official historiographer, which is much to be lamented, the details of a campaign can only be communicated to the public by persons attached to an army.

Certainly the charge of vanity may be preferred against me, for appointing myself to a post of so much difficulty and danger ; but my excuse rests on the apathy shewn by others, whose talents

talents capacitated them more fully for the duty. Perhaps I may also be accused of having exceeded the limits of a military treatise, by entering into descriptions of places and similar digressions : yet I submit to the candour of every man, whether the omission would not have excited greater displeasure. Such a country as Egypt is too interesting to be passed over without observation, and the accounts hitherto published have not satiated curiosity. My plea then is a wish to afford as much amusement as possible, where it was necessary some notice should be taken ; and I adopted the style of history, imagining that a narrative would be more entertaining than a journal, since the events of each day do not excite an equal interest.

With respect to my cursory examination into the diseases which afflicted the army, the medical department will, I feel confident, excuse such an interference, when the motive is considered, which induced me to give an outline of maladies, distinguishing Egypt to the world as an almost uninha-

uninhabitable country. The physical profession is much too liberal to feel irritated, where the object is public service, and they will rather encourage any attempt which may tend to promote the end desired.

As an apology for all inaccuracies of composition, it must be mentioned, that I did not submit my work to the correction of professed scholars, having heard formerly that Lord Lyttelton had sixty pages of errata returned to him, and therefore being afraid that my whole writings would be blotted out.

A younger brother, and Mr. Roworth my printer, whose talents and information have indeed rendered me very considerable assistance, are the only persons who have seen the manuscript, or made any alterations in the proofs.

Under the apprehensions of having the offspring of my brain, which Montaigne says is as dear as the child of one's bosom, perish prematurely,

turely, I preferred ushering the cherished object into the world, uncultivated as it may be, depending on a kind reception for the virtues it represents for imitation, rather than any inherent qualities, which the fondness of many parents might imagine to exist, and presume on.

As to the contents, I solemnly declare to the British nation, that I have endeavoured to relate a faithful narrative of a campaign, which, combined with the naval victories, and their own magnanimity, have elevated the glory of our country to the proudest altitude. Nor should England pride herself on the military services of the Egyptian army alone; throughout the war her troops have fought with equal gallantry: but she may also boast that the moral conduct of that army has exalted her fame on a foundation more durable than victory, erecting her monuments of honour upon the gratitude and admiration of mankind.

It was impossible to travel through a country

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(unattended by any escort,* as was frequently the case, experiencing the kindest attentions of friendship from every individual of a people hostile by religion, prejudice, and former ill usage to Europeans) without reflecting with considerable gratification on the causes which produced these acts of hospitality in favour of Englishmen. There was a vanity justly indulged in reflecting, that a Frenchman could never venture to pass through the same districts, even when the French army ruled with uncontested dominion, unless guarded by a force sufficient to command his security.

In the Deserts of Lybia, and throughout

* No intreaties could induce a Mameluke or a Turk to exceed a walk in travelling, therefore officers who carried dispatches, preferred going alone, as by great exertion they could then force their horses about seven miles an hour ; but in crossing the Delta I had a very fine horse, given me by the Vizir, die, after a journey of twenty miles, although he had been three hours passing that distance. The Egyptian horses, however, are capable of great fatigue, and with a walk of about five miles an hour, would on a long journey beat perhaps any horse in the world ; beyond that pace they are absolutely good for nothing.

Egypt,

Egypt, a British uniform was equally respected with the turban of Mahometanism, and the word of an Englishman esteemed sacred as the Koran.

To the Egyptian Army I must plead my zeal to render justice to their merits, as an apology for naming myself their historian; and I hope that they will kindly judge of any errors which may appear, remembering what difficulties oppose themselves to the collection of complete information; and I trust that the navy will treat any inaccuracy relating to themselves with the same consideration.

Although no great naval actions immediately connected with the expedition were to be recorded,* still the navy is intitled to the highest applause, and one universal sentiment of admiration pervaded the army, at the zeal, perseverance,

* Captain Barlowe's capture of *L'Africaine*, although a ship destined for Egypt, and Lord Cochrane's gallant action, as they did not happen on the coast of Egypt, were not within the confines of my history.

and vigilance, which, without exception, they displayed; for theirs, as General Hutchinson states, was not the labour of a day, or of a week, but for months together.

Those naval officers who served with the troops on shore had more opportunity to render themselves conspicuous; and they well maintained the reputation of their service.

But throughout I have anxiously endeavoured to avoid indiscriminate praise; as in the first place there would be a considerable degree of presumption in me to assume the too fascinating power of distributing the laurel crowns; and secondly, an aversion to those frequent honourable mentions which originated in a perusal of the Gazettes, published during the Irish Rebellion, has not since been removed. Yet where Fortune presented marked opportunities to the gallantry of individuals and corps, it became my duty to particularize the distinguishing traits; and if I have omitted to mention any whose services en-

titled

titled them to be noticed, I beg them to accept this assurance, that the omission proceeded from ignorance of the circumstances, or failure of memory, and that the earliest opportunity shall be courted to acknowledge and rectify every error.

To the army collectively, I have ventured to submit my work, as one recording events, which in themselves must animate with pride and emulation. If any instruction should be derived from the remarks, my own gratification would of course be considerable.

To those who may imagine that my representations of General Buonaparte's conduct in the several instances referred to are imprudent and improper at this moment to be brought forwards, I must premise, that if they are concerned only for the character of that general, I am happy to afford them an occasion to be better acquainted with this celebrated man, who, by his great fortune and uninterrupted career of victory, (with one exception of Acre, that glorious monument
of

of British conduct), has dazzled the understandings of the mass of mankind; and prevented the results of those enquiries having proper influence, which those, with whom the opinions of the day do not pass current, have instituted on his pretensions to the admiration of posterity.

To those, whose motives of disapprobation proceed from a regard for tranquillity, exciting the wish that a general amnesty of oblivion might be extended to the past, first I will say, that the dissemination of this principle would tend to produce more wickedness in the world than has ever been yet committed? For what is there to intimidate ambition, in full possession of power, but the pen of the historian? What can guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious despotism, but an assurance that the memory of great crimes is perpetuated in the records of history.

If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character. If he

cannot refute them, then must he sink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of such offences, and the miserable prescience that execration shall attach to his memory, instead of the fame he coveted. That on his cenotaph posterity will inscribe, *ille venenâ Colchicâ et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas tractavit.*

Secondly, I shall assure them, that they need be under no apprehensions from any public considerations, for I do not impeach Napoleone Buonaparte, first Consul of France, but the general who bore such a Christian name, until he turned Mussulman, and who was guilty of the crimes alleged, when commanding an army of the Republic of France, at the time her executive power was committed to a directory of five members, and when in the administration of her government he had no legal or acknowledged authority.

I have accused that officer who wrote the subjoined order against the gallant and generous Sir
 Sydney

Sydney Smith,* that officer who can have no similarity of character with the first Consul of
France,

* *The General in Chief to the Chief of the Etat Major General.*

“ The commander of the English squadron before Acre having had the barbarity to embark on board a vessel which was infected with the plague the French prisoners made in the two Tartans laden with ammunition, which he took near Caiffa; having been remarked at the head of the barbarians, in the fortie which took place on the 18th, and the English flag having been at the same time flying over many towers in the place, the barbarous conduct which the besieged displayed in cutting off the heads of two volunteers which were killed, must be attributed to the English commander, a conduct which is very opposite to the honours which have been paid to English officers and soldiers found upon the field of battle, and to the attentions which have been shewn to wounded and to prisoners.

“ The English being those who defend and provision Acre, the horrible conduct of Dgezzar, who caused to be strangled and thrown into the water, with their hands tied behind their backs, more than two hundred Christians, inhabitants of this country, among whom was the secretary of a French consul, must be equally attributed to this officer, since from circumstances the Pacha found himself entirely dependant upon him.

“ This officer having besides refused to execute any of the articles of exchange established between the two powers, and his proposals in all the communications which have taken place, and his conduct since the time that he has been cruising here,

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having

France, since the latter at his levee the other day desired the brother and sister of Sir Sydney to assure

sure

having been those of a madman ; my desire is, that you order the different commanders on the coast to give up all communication with the English fleet actually cruising in these seas.

(Signed)

“ BUONAPARTE.”

Such accusations many perhaps will think too contemptible to be noticed ; but there are others, who infatuated with Buonaparte, might find in silence grounds for recrimination. I therefore shall briefly observe, first as to the massacre of the Christians, that Dgezzar Pacha, previous to the disembarkation of any individual from the English ships, caused thirty men in the French interest to be strangled, foreseeing that resistance would be made to the act if not perpetrated before Sir Sydney's landing ; that the embarkation of the prisoners in vessels infected with the plague is a ludicrous charge, for would Sir Sydney, in that case, have placed an English guard on board over them ? So contrary however is the fact, that some French sick embarked afterwards at Jaffa, for Damietta, in eight or ten Tartans, having heard of the kind treatment their comrades experienced, stood out to the Tigre then cruising off, and surrendered themselves. The charge about cutting off the heads of dead men is frivolous ; besides how could Sir Sydney, in his situation, abolish the practice ; and it is urged with some effrontery by the man who a short time before butchered in cold blood near 4000 Turks. The abusive part is too low to be noticed ; but I will exalt the victorious adversary of Buonaparte even higher than his character has yet reached, by relating, that when Sir Sydney found the French had raised the siege of Acre,

sure him, that *he had always entertained the highest esteem for him*, a declaration which sufficiently proves that the first Consul cannot be, nor would he wish to be thought the same person with him who wrote the dishonourable order alluded to, much less the man who committed barbarities more heinous even than those with which Sir Sydney is charged. The first Consul himself has strongly marked the distinction, and every one otherwise would respect too much the dignity of constituted authorities to insinuate that a criminal is invested with the robes of supreme magistracy.

Acre, he instantly sailed for Jaffa, off which place he stood close in to the shore, and saw a body of the enemy filing into the town. Immediately he cannonaded what he supposed was an enemy, and his shot evidently did considerable execution; at last by his glass he perceived that the column he was attacking consisted only of wounded and sick men riding on camels, almost all of the soldiers having bandages on some of their limbs, when he directly ordered the firing to cease, and allowed the whole convoy to pass unmolested:—a trait which must procure for him the gratitude of Frenchmen, and the love of his own countrymen.

There is another person whom I have frequently mentioned, as having written a publication which he presents to the world as a narrative of facts, but which is written with the palpable object of detracting from the fame of the British army, by charging it collectively and individually with a want of courage, talents, and enterprize, therefore a work respecting which there cannot be a divided opinion amongst the unprejudiced in every country. Had General Reynier confined himself to the vindication of the honour of the French army, such an attempt would have been natural and praise-worthy; but when personalities and illiberal aspersions mark every observation, which is also as replete with error as inveteracy, indignation cannot be too strongly expressed, and the maxim urged, which General Reynier should have known better to appreciate, “that the calumination of an enemy is no evidence of courage.”

When an officer writes, he should remember that his military character is involved, and that

no violence of party can justify a wilful perversion of truth. As a man of honour, he should be above demeaning himself, by unjustly traducing the conduct of his enemies. The English Gazettes, and General Hutchinson's orders, might have directed General Reynier to a nobler line of conduct.

Is there an officer in the French service bold and wicked enough to say, that on the day of landing the British troops lay down in the boats (the folly of which assertion is palpable, unless they could have been packed as old clothes); that, on the 13th, he saw two battalions throw down their arms? The concluding assertion of General Reynier is however his own, "that the English neither shewed courage, boldness, or talents in the field;" the insinuation is also his, that the merit of the landing was due only to the navy. The events of the campaign will refute the first charge: and the British sailors will not accept his compliment, for their fame does not require the whole portion of laurels, where others

shared in acquiring them. Yet after all, with every attempt to tarnish the glory of that expedition, what does General Reynier recite? An uninterrupted series of successes on the part of the English; victory in every battle to them, and general disaster to the French. *Le feu bien nourri par les Anglois, la cavalerie Française culbutée, l'infanterie repoussée*, are the details of each action. It is true, he represents the English force as much more considerable than it actually was; but when military men learn that the British army which landed amounted only to 15,330 men, including 999 sick, they will judge for themselves if these troops behaved well.

When General Reynier speaks of the timidity of the movements, boasting that the French army run over in four days a space which the English crept over in forty, he shews a considerable want of candour; for ignorant he is not of the obstacles which opposed themselves to the British advance, of the degrees of difficulty between an
 army

army accustomed to the climate, retiring on its depôt, passing through a country it had so often traversed, and one which had just arrived, suffering from climate, totally ignorant of the *carte du pays*, obliged to draw all supplies of provisions and stores from the fleet, over a boccage sometimes for nine days together impassable, and where, in small boats, one hundred souls perished; an army which had at the same time to oppose its progress a formidable enemy, and whose feeble resistance could not have been anticipated. If the English had maintained their armies as the French have done this war, by robbing, pillaging the inhabitants, and never paying for a single article, certainly their movements might have been more rapid; and if the execration of mankind is not a counterbalancing disadvantage, their present system is indeed a prejudicial honesty.

In the returns of strength, nothing can be more inaccurate than General Reynier, as a few will shew.

He states the following to have been the number of particular corps in Egypt :

Corfican Rangers	-	400	True return	209
Huffars of Hompefch		300	-	-
11th regt. of dragoons		500	-	-
Marines	-	-	2000	-
British artillery with the Vizier, includ- ing artificers	}	500	-	-
Sailors doing duty in the batteries	}	500	-	-
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With regard to his statement of the combined force acting against Egypt, his observations are very superficial, since no considerable part of General Baird's army reached Coffir before the 8th of June; for Colonel Murray's arrival at the latter end of May with a few men cannot be deemed a reinforcement, on the scale General Reynier wishes to make the application; nor did the Indian army join General Hutchinson until
after

after the fall of Alexandria. The British troops therefore who conquered Egypt, taking the surrender of Cairo as the epoch when the country was reduced, and which must be so considered, were those who originally landed under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom, independent of 1000 men who came from Malta at the latter end of May, and the detachment of the 86th regiment from Suez, 150 men, no reinforcements arrived, and which army the French nearly doubled in numbers, exclusive of the vast superiority which possession of the country, a powerful cavalry and artillery afforded them. The Turks certainly altogether must not be excluded from a share in the triumph; but General Reynier exaggerates their numbers; and although they did contribute greatly to the success, still we must remember that this is the first occasion where their hordes have been honoured with any respectful attention by the French; yet also must we confess, that there is more reason after General Belliard's defeat, which affair however a superior general officer described with
much

much humour, “ as a parcel of sheep running from dogs without teeth.”

Still, notwithstanding General Reynier's injustice, I cannot conclude these remarks without adding what is due to his talents, that the world has much reason to regret that General Reynier did not exert his commanding abilities to investigate and relate facts, and that various prejudices have prevented the military service from receiving that information which no officer was better qualified to give.

Since this work first went to press, Vivant Denon, one of the Savans who accompanied General Buonaparte to Egypt, has published what was advertised to be a scientific exposition of the antiquities of that country, and which consequently was a labour warmly to be encouraged. Unfortunately, the philosopher proves himself a most obsequious courtier, using that bombast in the relation of the battles he was a spectator of, which has rendered every public French dispatch during

during the war, with some very few exceptions, ridiculous; and he at last terminates many exaggerations with the round assertion, that at Aboukir Buonaparte destroyed twenty thousand Turks, six thousand being killed, two thousand taken, and the remainder drowned, whilst the Turkish force altogether consisted but of eight thousand men, as the reader will afterwards find. Such a perversion of fact, by a man of Monsieur Denon's character, will make no favourable impression in honour of his countrymen; but if he has forgotten what is due to truth, the world will not forget that this Savan was the distinguished favourite of Buonaparte; for that general, almost immediately previous to his leaving Egypt, sent the rest of the commission into Upper Egypt, contrary to a sacred promise, that whenever he returned to France, they should accompany him, and selected this man to be the companion of his fortunes. The boon was considerable, and Monsieur Denon endeavours to repay his patron; but perhaps his former associates may not be so obsequious, irritated particularly as they must be at this second march being stolen upon them, by a

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publication which certainly anticipates, in some degree, yet will not eventually lessen the value of theirs, some destined parts of which have been shewn, when I had the good fortune to be present, and which surpass, in elegance and execution, all works of a similar nature which have yet appeared.*

I have now to return my thanks to the officers who so kindly favoured me with the communi-

* Fourier, a gentleman of most considerable information, who made the discovery of the declination of the Zodiac in the Temples of Upper Egypt, and who proposed, in order to avoid distracting the world with any new theories, to publish his observations on that subject in Latin, for the discussion only of the superior order of society, has undertaken the compilation of this voluminous and extensive work, for the benefit of all the artists who contributed to its formation: Nouét gives the astronomical part; Redouti the natural history, and nothing can exceed the beauty of his drawings; Fourier the mathematical division; and other men of science the various other branches. The public will also hereafter probably be gratified by some accounts on a smaller scale from Mr. Hamilton, secretary to Lord Elgin; Lieutenant Hayes of the Engineers, and Captain Legge of the Artillery, who, since the conquest of Egypt, have penetrated further than any of the French, proceeding near 100 miles beyond the Cataracts.

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cations I required, and to express particular obligations to Captain Marley, of the staff corps, an officer whose zeal and abilities rendered very great service to Colonel Stuart in the Delta, with whose column he acted as quarter master general, for the maps of Egypt he furnished me with, and which so well exemplify his talents, those of Major * Birch, and the officers of the military college, by whose united labours the original work was perfected during the campaign, notwithstanding the severity of their other duties. To Mr. Hopner, who, without the smallest hesitation, accorded me permission to have an engraving from a picture drawn by him of Sir Ralph Abercromby, the world as well as myself must acknowledge a debt of gratitude, since the portrait represents to life a hero, who is the pride of the British service, and “ an honest man, which is the noblest work of God.”

* Major Birch was senior officer, and under his immediate and active superintendence the country was reconnoitred, and the plans traced.

HISTORY

OF THE

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

IT is not my intention to discuss whether the direction of a British force to Egypt, under the circumstances that Europe then presented, was the most judicious disposal of it. That question would involve too large a sphere of politics; but certain it is, that any positive object was preferable to indeterminate counsels and feebly executed plans, which waste the soldier's health and spirit, compromise the honor of the army, and so materially prejudice the interest of a country.

After the attempt on Cadiz was abandoned, it became absolutely necessary to employ more advantageously an army, which might justly be regarded as the *corps d'élite* of England, and which had been kept as a disposable force at so great an expence.

The troops from so long a continuance at sea, in weather as violent as the oldest sailor ever remembered,* began to sink in mind and strength, and their unmerited failures tended still more to depress them.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie sympathized in the gallant feelings of the soldiery, was sensible to the expectations of his country, and did not shrink from the responsibility of his situation.

Italy again and Spanish America for some time occupied his attention. But the news of the convention at Hohenlinden annihilated the first project, and the surrender of Malta directed his views to Egypt, rather than to the second.

At length, on the 25th of October, orders from England arriving to undertake that expedition, part of the fleet sailed on the 3d of November for Minorca, and the remainder, with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, direct for Malta, where it arrived on the 30th; and Lord Keith, with the division from Minorca, joined on the 14th of December.

* It will be sufficient to mention, as a proof of the bad weather, that the fleet lost 80 anchors in Tetuan bay.

At Malta, the troops partially disembarked, while the ships were cleaning, in order to undergo the inspection of the Commander in Chief, a duty which this excellent officer never omitted. The abundance of fresh provisions, the comforts which the beautiful city La Valette afforded, the luxury of the scenery, soon re-animated the troops, and rendered them completely fit for service. An addition was here also in fact made to the army, by the enlisting of Maltese to the number of five hundred, who engaged to act as pioneers; and officers were encouraged to hire others for servants, government allowing each one shilling per day; but being then unacquainted with the fidelity and honesty of these people, few chose to engage them.* Requisite

* An arrangement which on all services would be advantageous, as supernumerary men of inferior stature with less pay might always be enlisted as bat men. Officers on their present allowance cannot afford to keep hired servants. An anecdote which occurred to one of the best and most gallant cavalry officers in the service may confirm this. A man asked of him eighty pounds per annum wages. "Do you know, my friend," said the major, "that you ask more than is given to a subaltern officer, who must live like a gentleman, and expose himself also to all the severities and dangers of the service?" "Ah, Sir," was his ingenuous reply, "I do indeed know their distress, and I pity the poor gentlemen from my heart."

stores, &c. having been collected, orders were issued for the re-embarkation of the army; and on the 20th of December the first division sailed for Marmorice, where it arrived on the 28th. The second division followed on the 21st of December, and arrived on the 1st of January. It may be a question why the army did not sail direct for Egypt, and the event justifies the supposition that it would have experienced less resistance, since the *Egyptienne*, *Justice*, *Regenerée*, and *Lodi*, which carried out the important succours of troops and ammunition, had not at that time escaped into Alexandria. But it is to be answered, that the co-operation of the Turks, from the influence of their religion on the inhabitants, was highly essential, and that they had moreover promised to furnish gun-boats, horses to mount the cavalry, and troops under the immediate command of the Captain Pacha, provided the British fleet rendezvoused in Asia Minor. The result indeed proved that dependance on these succours to effect a landing was not advantageous.

Lord Keith's division in going to Marmorice fell in with some polacres coming from Alexandria, laden with rice, and on board of one of which was the celebrated Tallien. No particular

lar information was obtained from them, or rather the estimate they gave of the French force in Egypt was considered as grossly exaggerated.

It had been the intention of Lord Keith to rendezvous in the Bay of Macri, but finding that port was too open, and that Rhodes did not admit of the entrance of large ships of war, he reconnoitred the coast, and discovered Marmorice Bay, one of the finest harbours in the world, the entrance of which was so narrow and retired, that it could not be perceived till within a cable's length of the coast. The surprize, the pleasure of the soldiers can scarce be described, when they found themselves in a moment embayed by mountains, which formed the grandest scenery imaginable, and sailing in smooth water, although the instant before the fleet was labouring in a heavy gale of wind, and rolling about in a tremendous sea. Even ships which could not carry outside a top-gallant-sail, were now suddenly becalmed, and obliged to be towed up the harbour by the boats of the fleet.

The sick were immediately landed and encamped; for the little town at Marmorice, at the head of the harbour, afforded no accommodation. Regiments were also successively disembarked,

barked, whilst the ships were cleaning, and the whole army frequently exercised to that manœuvre they were shortly to practise before the enemy in landing. The cavalry were kept on shore to receive the horses expected from Constantinople, and officers were partially employed in the purchase of others.*

The quarter master general of the army, Colonel Anstruther, who had been sent from Minorca to prepare the Turks for the reception of the English, had not been able to procure a sufficient supply of fresh provisions to save the issue of the salted stores; but goat-flesh was yet obtained in sufficient abundance by individuals, and poultry also was plentiful.† The English, however, found

* One of the expeditions had nearly proved disastrous to some officers sent to the rebel Aga of Cudjas, whose attendants wished to take liberties, which, though not unnatural to them, were highly repugnant to British ideas. Another was more advantageous, since Major Moore, of the 26th dragoons, at Macri, an ancient city of the Greeks, obtained as a present from the Aga three gold coins found there, and in the most perfect preservation. Two of them are of Pyrrhus, and one of Lyfimachus.

† A Turkish market place is sufficient to generate a plague. It is never cleaned, and blood flows on blood until a consistency of corruption is formed. The scene at Marmorice, where the butchery was so considerable, is indescribable.

that

that their character had preceded them from Europe, for every article was advanced in price four hundred per cent.

The horses for the cavalry at length arrived, and expectation was raised with eager hope to receive some of that species for which Turkey is so celebrated; but the mortification was excessive, to see animals naturally so bad, and in such a wretched condition, as to make the dragoons feel humiliation in being ordered to take charge of them. Every commanding officer solicited rather to serve with his corps as infantry; but the nature of the service the army was about to be employed on, rendered even such more desirable than none. However, out of several hundred horses, finally only two hundred were left for the cavalry, about fifty for the artillery, and the remainder shot, or sold for a dollar apiece. Miserable indeed would have been the state of the cavalry, had it not been amended by the horses purchased in the neighbourhood; but this supply was small, since it was a measure not pressed vigorously till too late; previously adopted it would have rendered the whole of the dragoons an effective force, and saved an enormous expence.

On the 8th of February commenced the most violent thunder and hail storm ever remembered, and which continued two days and nights intermittingly. The hail, or rather the ice stones were as big as large walnuts. The camps were deluged with a torrent of them, two feet deep, which, pouring from the mountains, swept every thing before it. The scene of confusion on shore by the horses breaking loose, and the men being unable to face the storm, or remain still in the freezing deluge, surpasses description. The ships in the harbour were in no less disorder from driving, loss of masts, &c. and the Swiftsure was struck by lightning. At night the firmament was, from the increasing flashes, in a state of constant and vivid illumination. To add to the terrific grandeur of this concussion of elements, signal guns of distress were frequently heard, and the howlings of wolves, jackalls, &c. re-echoed through the mountains at the back of the camp in the intervals, whenever the thunder ceased. It is not in the power of language to convey an adequate idea of such a tempest.

On the 16th of February Général Moore, who had been sent from Marmorice on the 4th of January to the Grand Vizir's army at Jappa, returned with the same melancholy account of
its

its wretched state, as Colonel Murray had brought in December. Weak as to numbers, without discipline, and infected with the plague, its co-operation scarcely offered an apparent advantage.*

The appointed time for the arrival of the Captain Pacha and the gun-boats had long elapsed. Only a few of the latter had joined; and it appeared evident from the continued delays, that the Turkish armament could not be ready for some time. Every moment became of most serious import, and particularly since the intelligence was confirmed of the escape of two frigates into Alexandria, whilst our ships, previously cruising off, were watering at Cyprus. This news was really alarming, since it had already been ascertained that the French force in Egypt consisted of a much greater strength than government supposed it to be, whilst the unexpected state of the Turkish army considerably weakened the projected means of attack. But the order

* The Grand Vizir wished to muster the troops; but as each chief drew for as many rations as he chose to demand, which this inspection would have checked, a few shots were fired at his highness's tent in the morning it was to take place, which hint was well understood, and the muster was immediately countermanded.

was

was positive, the object urgent, and the character of the British army relied on the attempt. The weather had been very violent for some time, and all the pilots, accustomed to the Egyptian coast, declared that till after the equinox it would be madness to attempt a landing. They were till then unacquainted with the daring of British seamen, and saw, to their astonishment, the army all embarked on the 20th of February: yet it was not till the 23d that the fleet could weigh anchor, when it sailed with a very fresh breeze. The number of vessels was such, about 175 sail, as to require a complete day for the whole to assemble in the roads.

A nobler sight could not be beheld. The greatness of the armament, the gaiety of the brave men on board, exciting reflections on the awful destiny of the expedition, not only as relating to those immediately acting in it, but as affecting the dearest interests of Great Britain, afforded a scene for contemplation, in the highest degree gratifying and impressive.

To the credit of the army during its stay at Marmorice, no complaint had ever been made by the inhabitants; on the contrary, the Turks seemed

seemed to be inspired, for the first time, with an esteem for Christians.*

The army wanted for many comforts, which that part of Asia Minor could not produce; although several vessels, taken on their way from France to Alexandria, had afforded a very seasonable supply, they being laden with all the epicurean luxuries, which she could send out.†

The greatest misfortune was the total want of information respecting Egypt. Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the best draught from which information could be formed, and which was distributed to the generals, proved ridiculously incorrect.

Sir Sydney Smith was the only officer who knew at all the locality of the coast, and he certainly, as far as he had seen, gave perfect infor-

* The ladies of the army might boast of animating them with the tenderest sentiments of attachment. Some attempts were made at the embarkation to surprize and carry off several; and a French lady, taken on her way to Egypt, had a very narrow escape.

† It is but too characteristic of the French, that on board of these ships, amongst many other fantastical packages, was a cargo of fans, most ingeniously indecent.

mation. But he had never been in the interior of the country. Captain Boyle, at Minorca, had given an idea of the disposition of the French army, which, considering the caution it was necessary for him to use, and the vigilance which guarded him, did his zeal and address great honour.*

Mr. Baldwin, the British consul at Alexandria, who had been sent for from Naples by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, on account of his respectable character and influence in Egypt, could not be supposed to give much military information.

It is, however, a positive fact, extraordinary as it may appear, that so little was Sir Ralph Abercrombie acquainted with the strength of the enemy he was preparing to attack, that he rated their force at the greatest calculation, at only ten thousand French, and five thousand auxiliaries, then exceeding the number stated in the official information sent from home, and on which the expedition was originally formed.

* Captain Boyle was wrecked in the *Cormorant* off Damietta, when on his way to Alexandria in a cartel, and made prisoner, contrary to the usages of war.

The British army consisted of the following regiments, amounting to 15,330 men, including 999 sick, and 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of men attached to an army except officers. Its effective force in the field could not be therefore, at the highest computation, above twelve thousand; and indeed that number, within two hundred, was the return given in to the Commander in Chief.

Guards	—Major General Ludlow
1st or Royals	} Major General Coote
2 Battalions 54th	
92d	
8th	} Major Gen. Craddock
13th	
90th	
2d, or Queen's	} Major Gen. Lord Cavan
50th	
79th	
18th	} Brigadier General Doyle
30th	
44th	
89th	
Minorca	} Major General Stuart
De Rolle's	
Dillon's	

RESERVE.

RESERVE.

40th Flank Comp.	}	Major General Moore
23d		
28th		
42d		
58th		
Corfican Rangers		
Detach. 11th Drag.		
Do. Hompesch's Regt.	}	Brigadier General Finch
12th Dragoons		
26th Dragoons		
Artillery and Pioneers,		

It must be allowed, even at the calculation of the supposed strength of the enemy, that to attack with such a force the possessors of a country, strengthened by the advantages of strong fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enterprise of the most audacious character. What then must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained?

The fleet had not stood long on its course,
before

before one of the Greek vessels, laden with mules, foundered, and one man alone was saved. That this was the only accident is surprising, considering the state of these ships. They were, however, incapable of beating up with the men of war and the English transports, or were afraid to keep at sea, consequently most of them separated, which was a serious disaster, as on board of these vessels the cavalry and artillery horses were chiefly embarked.*

February the 26th a convoy from England with provisions, under the escort of Captain Young, of *La Pique*, fell in with the fleet. On the 1st of March the leading frigate made a signal for land, which proved to be the coast near Arabs Tower, and on the next morning the whole fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay; the men of war riding exactly where the battle of the Nile was fought, for the *Foudroyant* chafed her cables against the *L'Orient's* wreck, whose anchors she afterwards fished up.

The melancholy intelligence of the death of Major Makarras, and capture of Major Fletcher,

* Some of the polacres had neither quadrant nor log on board.

of the Engineers, was here first announced.—These officers had been sent in the *Penelope*, before the fleet sailed from Marmorice, to reconnoitre the coast; but when off Alexandria they got into the *Petterel*, and in her boat in the night of the 27th of February, proceeded into Aboukir Bay, in order to discover the proper point of landing. In vain was Major Makarras advised not to enter too much into the *cul de sac* of the bay. His sense of duty and enterprising spirit urged him to advance, and he even landed on the subsequent ground of debarkation. At dawn of day, as he was returning, a French gun-boat, full of soldiers, the commander of which had been informed of their reconnoitering, and who had expressly sailed with her out of the lake Maadie, where she had been stationed, appeared to windward, and instantly bore down, commencing at the same time a fire from her carronade and small arms: a shot soon disabled the English boat from continuing under sail; and a musquet ball having killed Major M'Karras, the master of the boat, as the gun-boat came along side, surrendered her. Major Fletcher and the boat's crew were then all allowed quarter, and carried as prisoners into Alexandria, and from thence to General Menou at Cairo. The death
of

of Major Makarras was, as well as the severest private loss, a public misfortune; his ability justly obtained the greatest confidence, and placed him in the high station he held in the army. His former services justified the hopes of his acquiring still greater character; and while the man was mourned by his friends, the loss of the officer was universally deplored.

The state of the weather was such as to prevent the possibility of landing, which appeared a fatal misfortune, since, on the capture of the boat, containing officers of engineers, no doubt could be supposed to remain on the minds of the enemy, as to the intentions of the English; and the present delay gave them ample leisure for preparation. But if they had not already obtained sufficient information, another untoward occurrence must have assured them of every particular they could require.

On the morning of the 2d of March, a frigate was seen standing into Alexandria. Pursuit was unavailing; she reached the harbour, and hoisting French colours, proved unequivocally her nation.

It will scarcely be credited that a French frigate,

unexpectedly finding herself in the midst of an English fleet, should have been so capable directly to disguise herself, as to continue unsuspected on her course with it, which she did the whole day before, answering the various signals made, and yet never attract the smallest suspicion; nevertheless, it is fact, and must remain on record, as an honourable anecdote to the credit of the French captain of the *Regénérée*. During the night the brig the *Lodi* also entered, but which was not then known.

On the 7th, the weather moderating, the general went in a boat to reconnoitre the shore. Sir Sydney Smith at the same time, with three armed launches, proceeded to the entrance of the lake; but whilst he was gone in his own boat to another point, a signal was made for the men to land. Lieutenant Brown, of the *Foudroyant*, with his party, instantly jumped on shore, and drove off about fifty men, who defended the block-house at the entrance of the lake Maadie; but a body of the enemy coming down. Lord Keith, who was on board the *Fury* bomb, viewing this affair, threw out a signal for their return. They consequently came off, bringing with them some poultry and the ferryman as
their

their trophies. They had attempted to burn a gun-boat at the entrance of the lake, but the fire did not catch, and then they tried to scuttle her, in which also they failed: the next day she was taken. The ferryman could not give much information; he had never troubled his head with any thing but aqua dente, a pernicious brandy, made of dates.

The wind continuing moderate, and the swell of the sea subsiding, on the morning of the 8th, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the reserve under the orders of Major Gen. Moore, the brigade of Guards under Major Gen. Ludlow, and part of the 1st brigade, composed of the Royals, 1st battalion of the 54th, 200 of the 2d battalion, the whole amounting to about five thousand five hundred men, under the command of Major General Coote, assembled in the boats, the remainder of the 1st and 2d brigade being put into ships close to the shore, that a support might be quickly given after the first landing was effected. At three o'clock the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous near the Mondovi, anchored about gun-shot from the shore; but the extent of the anchorage was so great, that the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not be completed till near nine o'clock. And here let

the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on this solemn scene, and imagine to himself the feelings, the impatience, the suspense which agitated every mind; the hopes and fears which distracted the spectators; the anxiety of the gallant Sir Ralph Abercromby for the success of this hardy enterprise, and the fate of the intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders. The heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm; and may those who have hitherto regarded with indifference the service of the army, from this moment pay it that tribute of respect which is the recompence of the soldier. May those young men who are devoted to the military life seriously consider its important duties, and seek to render themselves capable of commanding, ever remembering that in the course of their service the fame and lives of such soldiers must be hazarded to their judgment.

The right flank of the boats was protected by the Cruelle cutter and the Dangereuse and Janissary gun vessels; the left by the Entreprenant cutter, Malta schooner, and Negresse gun vessel; on each flank were also two launches of the fleet, armed to supply the place of the Turkish gun boats which had separated on the passage. Sir Sydney Smith, with a detachment of seamen directed

directed to co-operate with the army, had charge of the launches, which contained the field artillery. The Tartarus and the Fury bomb vessels were placed in their proper situation, to cover with their fire the landing; and the Peterell, Camelion, and Minorca were moored with their broadsides to the shore. At nine o'clock the signal was made for the boats to advance. They sprung forwards at the same instant, and the whole scene became animation. The French, to the number of two thousand men, posted on the top of the sand-hills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front of about a mile, (in the centre of which elevated itself a nearly perpendicular height of sixty yards, apparently inaccessible,) had looked down with wonder at the preparation, and since confessed that they could not believe the attempt would even have been made; but when they saw the boats moving with extraordinary rapidity to the shore, and the armed vessels opening their guns, they could no longer doubt the seriousness of the intention, and directly poured all the fire which their artillery on the heights (12 pieces) and the castles of Aboukir could discharge. The quantity of shot and shells, and as the boats approached, the shower of grape and musquetry, seemed so to plough the surface of the water, that nothing on

it could live; for a moment it even checked and compelled some of the boats rather to clofe upon the left;* but the impulse returned with increased ardour, and preffing through the storm the rowers forced to the beach. The reserve leaped out of the boats on the fhore, and formed as they advanced; the 23d and 40th regiments rufhed up the heights with almoft præternatural energy, never firing a fhot, but charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it, breaking them and purfuing till they carried the two Nole hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left, taking at the fame time three pieces of cannon. The 42d regiment had landed and formed as on a parade, then mounted the pofition, notwithstanding the fire from two pieces of cannon and a battalion of infantry. The moment they gained the height, two hundred French dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly repulfed.

The boats of the Guards had fcarce felt the beach, and the men began to jump out, before the fame body of cavalry, who had rallied behind

* This little diforder was alfo oceafioned by fome of the boats being ftruck and finking, when others ftopped to fave the men.

the sand hills, charged suddenly upon them. This unexpected attack caused a momentary disorder, but the 58th regiment, formed already on their right, by their fire checked the enemy, and gave time for the Guards to present a front, when the cavalry again retreated with considerable loss. The 54th and Royals,* from being in transport boats, did not reach the shore so soon as the others, but landed at the instant a column of six hundred infantry was advancing with fixed bayonets through a hollow against the left flank of the Guards. The French on seeing them hesitated, then firing a volley, retreated. This moment of exultation cannot be described, but the most callous mind must be sensible to its effect.

The French finding the British in full possession of the heights, and General Coote advancing with the Guards and his brigade, ran from all points of their position, but in the rear sand hills maintained for about an hour and a half a feat-

* It is to be regretted that no provision is made for the failors in the transport service who are wounded, or extraordinary encouragement given to them when employed on such dangerous duty as the disembarkation of troops. The measure would be politic and just.

tered fire, when they were finally obliged to retreat, having lost three hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The boats returned immediately for the remainder of the army, which, by the great exertions of the navy, were all landed before night. Sir Ralph, impressed with the strongest feelings of gratitude and admiration, came on shore, and took up a position, distant about three miles, with his right to the sea, and left on Lake Maadie; at the same time occupying the battery on the tongue of land at the entrance of the lake, but not in time to prevent the escape of eighty French over the ferry. The loss of British amounted in this affair to near five hundred men, amongst whom were several gallant officers.* General Reynier asserts, that the infantry laid down in the bottom of the boats, whilst the sailors, indifferent to the French artillery, rowed with vigour to the shore. What kind of boats must those flats have been, which would have allowed of such an extension? Is it possible that any one can be ignorant of the necessity of troops in all debarkations, wedging as close as possible together in an upright posi-

* Captain Warren of the Guards, the son of Sir John Borlase Warren, was particularly lamented, as one of the most promising young men in the army.

tion, or how could fifty men be carried in each boat? Malignity should always thus defeat itself.

No British soldier would detract in the smallest degree from praise justly conferred on the navy; but the seamen themselves will indignantly reject such ungenerous and malevolent applause.

From a consideration of the enemy's strength, and an observation of the map, military men must pronounce that a landing in the face of such a position was nearly impracticable, where both parties did their duty; but it would be unjust to insinuate that the French did not behave with spirit and resolution. Their defence was strictly good, and the conquest one of those singular phenomena, which occasionally occur to animate the brave with a confidence, that brilliant exertions, supported by persevering courage, may surmount mathematical improbabilities, and snatch a victory where cold calculation would predict a certain defeat. The event, however, does not in all cases justify the councils; but Sir Ralph Abercrombie's peculiar situation must be considered, and weigh heavily in the enquiry. Had he been alarmed at the formidable appearance of the position, it is too
much

much to be feared, that his prudence, however just, would have involved himself and army in eternal and irretrievable obloquy.

Aboukir Bay was the only port where the debarkation could have been made on the Egyptian coast, for there only could the shipping remain in safety; and it was absolutely necessary that the communication with the fleet, even daily, should be preserved, for on it the army was not only to depend for provisions, stores, &c. but, as it was first supposed, for water.

It is true Buonaparte landed near Arabs Tower, and trusted to his fortune; but he had no European force to dispute his progress, and he well knew the paltry resistance which Alexandria could then oppose to him.*

* The author does not write to detract from the French; but it is the duty of an historian to correct false statements. The boasted assault of Alexandria was a contemptible as well as cruel action, unworthy altogether of Buonaparte's fame. Policy may excuse the gaudiness of his dispatches, but not the wanton storm of a city, for the sake of striking terror, and fixing an impression of the French name throughout Egypt. The murder of the garrison was a barbarous violence, and the indulgence granted to his troops, of a three hours' sacking of the place, an act of unjustifiable inhumanity.

Some

Some may suppose that the Bay of Jaffa offered a safer point of debarkation; but the state of the Grand Vizir's army must be considered, and the obstacles which the Desert presented to Europeans, unaccustomed to the climate.

Sir Sydney Smith, who had landed and reconnoitred this ground the year before, proposed that the battery at the entrance of Lake Maadie* should be maintained, when carried in the evening of the 7th, or its assault combined at all events with the operations of the landing. Such a manœuvre would certainly have been masterly, as in either case its advantages must have been decisively great. If fifteen hundred men had passed into the lake, and made for the narrow neck of the isthmus, about half a mile in breadth, and to which our advanced posts were pushed on the evening of the 8th, the French must have abandoned their position at Aboukir, or exposed themselves to be taken in the rear, and have their retreat cut off; had only gun-boats forced

* The passage is about two hundred yards wide, and was made about eighteen years since by the sea breaking down the dyke, which had been built ages back to recover from the ocean that country now Lake Maadie.

in on the morning of the landing, the French would have suffered most severely from their fire in crossing the plain a good mile in extent, immediately in rear of their position. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was aware of this reasoning, but feared to divide his force, not knowing the numbers of the enemy which might oppose the landing at Aboukir, and the boats not being sufficiently numerous to admit of his detaching from that principal service.

After the action, the army employed itself in digging to find water, as Sir Sydney assured the troops that wherever date trees grew, water must be near. The fact proved so, and the Commander in Chief found himself relieved from an anxiety which might otherwise have determined him still to relinquish the enterprize.*

The French commander of Aboukir castle refusing to surrender, the Queen's and 26th dismounted dragoons were ordered to blockade it. On the 9th of March the army advanced its po-

* An Arab came to Sir Sydney Smith, and shewed him a well, which he said had been closed by him ever since the French landed. An act of friendship which augured favorably of the general disposition.

fition a short way, and were posted in three lines. On the 10th some skirmishing between the advanced posts took place; twenty Corsican Rangers were taken, and the surgeon of the corps, Mr. Smith, by the sudden advance of a body of cavalry; Colonel Spencer, who had been out reconnoitring with General Moore, and Captain Money, of the 11th dragoons, narrowly escaped.

On the 10th Captain Marley, with Captain Stuart of the *Mondovi*, went in a boat up Lake Maadie, and landed on the canal of Alexandria, near to the isthmus, and ascending the height on which the citadel of the British entrenched camp was afterwards constructed, they discovered the rear of a column passing into the lines before Alexandria.

Having completed their reconnoitring at this point, they passed across the lake, and landed at Arifch, but obtained there no intelligence, from whence they returned to camp. The necessary stores being brought on shore, a depôt formed, and an hospital established on the beach, Sir Ralph Abercrombie moved the army on the 12th to Mandora Tower, about four miles, where it encamped in three lines. A body of French cavalry skirmished the whole of the way with the
advanced

advanced guard, but no ferious opposition was made.

On the 13th the army marched to attack the French, posted on the ridge of heights, which the British afterwards encamped on during the blockade of Alexandria. The enemy had received a reinforcement of two half brigades of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry from Cairo, and other corps from Rosetta, making their total force about six thousand men, of which six hundred were cavalry, with between twenty and thirty pieces of cannon. Their position was on very commanding ground, the approach to which formed a fine glacis for the whole range of fire from their numerous artillery. As Sir Ralph Abercombie determined to turn their right, their left being refused, the English army marched in two lines and column of regiments from the left, the reserve covering the movement on the right and keeping parallel with the first line. Captain Hillyar had the command of the launches in the lake.

It had not advanced out of the wood of date trees, which was in front of Mandora Tower, before the enemy left the heights on which they had been formed, and moved down by their
right

right, commencing a heavy fire of musquetry, and from all their cannon, on the 92d regiment, which formed the advanced guard of the left column. At the same time the cavalry, under the orders of General Bron, charged down a height on the 90th regiment, forming the advanced guard of the right column. This regiment, undismayed, firmly maintained its ground, and allowing the cavalry to approach, fired such a volley as completely altered their direction, and compelled them to skirt along the front and then retreat with the greatest precipitation. A few of the dragoons, however, reached the ranks, and were bayoneted in their attempt to break through. Colonel Latour Maubourg was himself desperately wounded, and the loss of the whole very great. The discipline and steadiness of the 90th regiment were most honourable and praise-worthy; and if even the charge of the French had been more vigorous, their intrepidity and firmness would have rivalled the conduct of the Welsh Fusileers at the battle of Minden. Major General Craddock instantly formed his brigade, who executed the manœuvre, notwithstanding the heavy fire they were now under, with the most regular order and precision. The conduct of the 92d had been no less meritorious. Opposed to a tremendous fire, and suffering severely

verely from the French line they never receded a foot, but maintained the contest alone until the marines and the rest of the line came to their support; and yet these are the regiments which General Reynier impudently accuses of laying down their arms.

The army now formed in two lines; the reserve continuing in column on the right, the Guards in rear of the right of the second line, as a support to the centre, and General Doyle's brigade moving in the rear of the left, in column. In this order the army pushed on with the greatest vigour, preserving always the strictest regularity; whilst the foreign brigade emulated the British.

The French kept up a constant fire of musquetry and artillery, but did not oppose afterwards in line, only as *tirailleurs*. Had there been a few more cavalry with the army, the enemy must have lost all their artillery, and their retreat would have been probably cut off, or so impeded that the conquerors might have entered the works before the town with the fugitives.

As the army persevered in its advance, the French were compelled to quit their position,
and

and retreat over the plain into their own lines on the heights before Alexandria; but before they could wholly effect this, Dillon's regiment, who had moved to the left, charged with the bayonet, and carried two guns placed on the canal of Alexandria, turning them immediately against the enemy. Their conduct, intrepidity, and steady advance, obtained the admiration of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who in the general orders next day particularized this corps. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, wishing to follow up his success, and by a *coup de main* to carry the important position the French had now retired on, advanced across the plain, ordering General Hutchinson, with the second line, to move forwards to the left, and secure a projecting rising ground; General Moore was directed to the right, that both flanks might be assaulted at the same time. The first line remained in the plain rather to the right. General Hutchinson advanced upon the green hill, and occupied the whole of it: then detached the 44th regiment in front to carry a bridge on the canal of Alexandria, in the bottom between the hill and the French position. A post of infantry and cavalry defended it with two guns, but the 44th charged them with the bayonet, and occupied the bridge. The enemy now began to play from all their field artillery and heavy ordnance.

ordnance. General Hutchinson's column found some shelter from the inequalities of the ground, and the reserve was protected by the broken surface of the soil on the right, although the French advanced two field pieces to the Nole hill in front of the left against them. The centre remained totally exposed. Whilst Sir Ralph Abercrombie reconnoitred, the army continued under the most terrible and destructive fire from the enemy's guns, to which troops were ever exposed. The work of death was never more quick, or greater opportunity afforded for destruction. The French, no longer in danger, had only to load and fire. Aim was unnecessary, the bullets could not but do their office, and plunge into the lines. For several hours did the English remain patiently suffering this exterminating fire, and never betrayed the least irresolution. If a word was heard, it contained only a wish to be led on to the assault. At length Sir Ralph Abercrombie deemed it prudent not to attempt the forcing of the heights, supposing that they were commanded by Fort Crétin, in which case, for the want of artillery, he was not prepared to maintain them; the army was therefore withdrawn at sun-set, still marching as if on parade, and ordered to re-occupy that position which was shortly

shortly to be the theatre of its glory and revenge.

This action had been highly creditable to the gallantry and discipline of the British, whose movements were executed with the same steadiness and accuracy as if at a review in England. The conduct, exertions, and animating example of the general officers universally, were never exceeded; and when it is remembered, that the guns were dragged by sailors through a deep and burning sand, the rapidity of their movements and their success is highly meritorious. Happy would it have been, however, that the army had never advanced beyond the first captured position; as far as that it had gloriously triumphed. The loss which it had sustained, though considerable, was unavoidable; but it was a fatal movement in the event which brought it so considerably within cannon shot of the second position, and where it was halted so long. If instead even of finally abandoning so important an object, part of the army had been marched to the left, obliquely over the ground which lay between Lake Maadie and Lake Marcotis subsequently inundated, and then formed to the right when the left reached the line of Pompey's Pillar, thus attacking the south front of the position, whilst the right of the eastern front was

attacked at the same time, no doubt can now exist of its having been easily carried, and most probably the towns of Alexandria, Old and New. Forts Crétin and Caffarelli could have opposed but little resistance; and if they had held out, must have surrendered long before the arrival of General Menou. Let it not be objected, that this knowledge was only acquired at the subsequent surrender of the city. Had not the appearance of that ground, from the nitrous salt upon the surface, and partial fappiness, been deemed evident proofs of its total marshy nature, its examination would have opened the weak part of the position, and rendered the movement obvious; but the eye was then unacquainted with the phœnomena, and the deception was natural. The loss of the English was about 1100 men killed and wounded. The French of course did not suffer so much, but above 500 of them were put *hors de combat*: four field pieces were also taken, and a great quantity of ammunition. Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the action had a horse shot.

The position now occupied by the British was by nature strong; the right was projected a quarter of a mile, on very high ground, and extended to the large and magnificent ruins of a palace, built in the time of the Romans, within
fifty

fifty yards of the sea. The breadth of this promontory, as it may be called, of sand hills and old ruins, was not more than three hundred yards; it gradually sloped down: an intermediate valley of an equal distance lay between it and the receding sand hills, which formed the rest of the position, excepting that near the canal of Alexandria was level ground. The front of the position formed from the right of the ground on which the Guards were encamped, an oblique line to the left. On the extreme point of the left, and about a quarter of a mile on the canal, two batteries were ordered to be constructed as the point d'appui of the left of the whole position. Lake Maadie protected the rear of the left, by flowing close to the canal. The extent from the sea to the lake was about a mile. In front of the right was a continuation of the uneven ground. Before the centre a slope descended into the plain, which commenced in front of the left, and extended as far as the French position. On this plain cavalry might well act, although as it approached the British lines the ground was covered with large stones, and ruins, the site of the whole having been originally that of a Roman colony.

On the projecting ground of the right were

posted the 58th and 28th regiments, which corps defended the ruins and redoubts. These were supported by the 23d regiment, the 42d, 40th, and Corsican Rangers. In the interval and flat between those heights and the right of the centre, were the cavalry of reserve, then the Guards on the hill. On their left, forming echellon were the Royals, 92d, 2d 54th, and 1st 54th; then the 8th, 18th, 90th, 13th, also in echellon to their right brigade. At right angles, with their left thrown back facing the lake, and to protect the canal, were the 27th, 79th, and 56th posted. The second line was formed from the right, by the Minorca, De Rolle's, Dillon's, the Queen's, 44th, 89th, 30th; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th dragoons, and then the mounted part of this regiment, and the 26th. The marines had marched to Aboukir, and the Queen's replaced them. On the right, and within a hundred and fifty yards of the shore, were stationed four cutters; and the fleet cruized constantly off Alexandria.

The French position was parallel, but still more formidable. A very high and almost perpendicular ridge of hills, extended from the sea near the canal of Alexandria, where, gradually sloping to its level, they formed the main position
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of this front; but in advance of their right, they occupied a tongue of land, which projected a mile parallel to the canal of Alexandria, and which obliged the English advanced posts to be thrown back considerably, thus forming an obtuse angle. In the centre of the principal line rose with deceitful grandeur Fort Cr tin, in the left of its rear appeared Fort Caffarelli, Pompey's Pillar on its right, Cleopatra's Needle on the left, and the city of Alexandria extending into the sea, and at the extremity of a long neck of land the Pharos. At the back of the town the masts of the shipping in the western harbour were visible. In the eastern harbour, formed by the Pharos and some rocks, on one of which is built a tower, called the Pharillon, were two or three polacres and gun-boats. The whole presented the most interesting appearance, in an historical as well as military point of view; for whose mind could be insensible to the sensations which ground so celebrated must inspire? Wherever the eye could measure, objects of the greatest character, even some of the wonders of the world, attracted its attention, and the very ruins under the feet were sacred from their antiquity.

The army, independently of its severe military duties, was now incessantly and most laboriously

at work in constructing the batteries, bringing up the guns, and forming a depôt of heavy artillery and ammunition; but the want of horses and camels was most distressingly felt. The provisions were obliged to be daily brought by the men from the magazines, distant a mile and a half. The heavy casks of spirits required great labour to roll through the sand, and the date tree for fuel was brought from a considerable distance, and when obtained it would scarcely burn: the smoke of it was also dreadfully pungent to the eyes. Water, however, was found in abundance, and very good. The 13th regiment dug into an aqueduct of running fresh water, well arched over, but the source or outlet of which was never ascertained; the Arabs themselves could give no information respecting it, and seemed lost in astonishment when regarding this valuable discovery. A market with some difficulty was established, and regulated by the assiduous care and ability of Mr. Baldwin, whose assistance proved of great service to the army; still the supply of sheep was precarious, as the Arabs brought them with great hazard to themselves, General Menou having given orders that any one detected in the attempt should instantly be shot; notwithstanding which the *Auri sacra fames* overcame the strong sensation of fear even

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in the most timid and abject wretches in the world, for such certainly are Egyptian peasants.

Tents were now ordered to be brought up. Hitherto the army had no covering but their blankets or great coats, although the nights had been intensely cold, and the damp exhalations of the ground piercingly chilly. The thermometer was frequently below 50 degrees.

On the 10th a report having been sent in from the advanced guard on the left, that a patrol of the enemy was advancing, the major of brigade brought orders for the cavalry to turn out. As the greater part were gone to water, Colonel Archdale could only collect sixty men, with which he marched, but when he reached the picquet, he took that also on with him, which increased his force to eighty men. With these he advanced briskly for about three miles, till he came up with the enemy, who, according to General Reynier, consisted of a company of infantry and fifty hussars; their total number was about one hundred and fifty men (which they acknowledged themselves to be) under the command of General D'Esun. Colonel Archdale, conceiving that he had orders to charge from General Finch, who was coming up, and who had

had sent his brigade major forwards, instantly detached Lieutenant Lewinſon, with twelve men, to attack the left flank of the cavalry, while he charged in front with the main body. General D'Eſtin poſted his infantry from the lake to the left of the canal, and drew up the huffars on the ſubſequentially inundated ground, a little in the rear of his infantry. Colonel Archdale with his ſmall detachment preſſed on to the attack with the greateſt ardour, and breaking through the infantry, who fired a volley, paſſed on to the huffars, who as immediately fled. The Britiſh cavalry purſued, killing and wounding ſeveral of them, but the main body, being better mounted, eſcaped. The dragoons were returning in file, with their horſes blown, conſiderably reduced from the enemy's fire in the firſt attack, by which Colonel Archdale had loſt his arm: imagining that the French infantry were priſoners, and forgetting that no guard had been left over them, ſince all had inconfiderately followed in the purſuit, they advanced within twenty yards of the French again, when General D'Eſtin ordered his men to fire, which they did with ſevere effect. The cavalry, thus ſurpriſed, inſtantly inclined away to their left, and haſted out of the reach of the fire.

Thus

Thus terminated an affair, which cost the army two officers wounded and three taken; seven men killed, six wounded, and twelve taken; 42 horses killed or wounded.

Although there had been considerable gallantry displayed on the parts of the officers and men, Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the orders expressed his displeasure: he admired the spirit, but was obliged to restrain an excess of zeal, which oftener would prove disastrous than advantageous. Partial affairs were not an object, when so shortly the utmost energy of a concentrated force was to be exerted.

The same day the death of Colonel Brice, of the Guards, was announced by the return of a flag of truce, which had been sent into the French lines to enquire after his fate. On the night of the 14th he had been field officer on duty, and when going his rounds missed his way, which it was impossible almost to prevent, as the mirage so deceived the sight. Wandering into the French line of posts, he was attacked, severely wounded, and robbed. For three days he lingered in great pain. The intelligence of his decease, aggravated by the manner of it, threw a melancholy over the army. To alleviate these

these regrets, however, on the same day Aboukir Castle surrendered, and the Captain Bey, with two sail of the line, several frigates, and small Turkish vessels, having on board the remainder of the cavalry, arrived.

The Castle of Aboukir had not been besieged before the 13th, as powder and shot in Egypt were valuable articles, and this fortress was not a very essential post; but Sir Ralph Abercrombie at last decided on attacking it, and particularly as the French contrived to send supplies to the garrison from Alexandria in boats. These boats were constantly passing to and fro, and the navy could not intercept them. Two batteries were erected against the fort, and some bomb ketches aided the attack. Round the castle is a ditch of uncommon depth, which made it difficult to assault even where a breach was made; but the commandant did not render that measure necessary. On the fifth day he surrendered: the same engineer now commanded the place, who had directed the siege, when the Turks defended it for eight days, after the defeat and havock of their army in the year 1799. Aboukir Castle is a most wretched place, the rooms absolute dungeons: in the fort twelve French guns and abundance of ammunition were found. The
garrison

garrison amounted to 190 men, although the Gazette return, from some error, states only 140.

It will not be totally irrelevant to correct Buonaparte's account of the victory he gained over the Turks at Aboukir, which describes their force as amounting to seventeen thousand men, the whole of which he states to have been either killed or taken.

The consequent importance of such a conquest attached certainly much credit to the commander, and from the circumstances of the times proved of infinite advantage to his interests. But this, like most other French dispatches, had no other authority than the *ipse dixit* of the writer to justify it. Instead of seventeen thousand, there were not quite eight thousand, four thousand of which were killed and wounded in the action, near two thousand were carried off by the boats at the time, or during the siege of the castle, and the remainder capitulated in the fort. Such is the fact, and so has the world been deceived!

On the 19th the supply in the market altogether failed, from the advance of General Menou, whose

whose patrols had fallen in with and killed several Arabs bringing sheep.

On the 20th a column of infantry and cavalry was perceived passing over the ground adjacent to Lake Mareotis into Alexandria; and an Arab chief sent in a letter to Sir Sydney Smith* acquainting him of the arrival of General Menou with a large army, and that it was his intention to surprize and attack the British camp the next morning; but much confidence was not placed in the communication at head-quarters, although Sir Sydney was convinced in his own mind of the honesty and truth of the information, and assured his friends of that event taking place.

On the night of the 20th the position of the army had been strengthened by a battery not closed in the rear, erected a little in front and to the left of the ruins of Ptolemy's Palace, from whence the space to the sea was open, and no works filled up the broken apertures in the exterior wall of the ruins. In front of the right of the Guards was a redoubt; on their left a large battery, where the signal staff was hoisted, which was afterwards called the citadel; on the left of

* See the Appendix.

the line a redoubt, and on the canal of Alexandria two works. On the whole line were two 24 pounders, and 34 field pieces. General Reynier states the position to have been defended by 42 pieces.

On the memorable 21st of March the army as usual was under arms at three o'clock in the morning; all was quiet till half past three o'clock, when the report of a musquet was heard at the extremity of the left. Instantly afterwards a cannon fired, scattered musquetry succeeded, and then two more guns. For a moment attention was directed to that quarter. All were convinced that a general attack was commencing, but it was immediately evident that the firing was too feeble on the left, to believe *that* to be the point of the enemy's ferious object. Indeed this was the universal sentiment; and General Moore, who as general officer of the night, on the first alarm proceeded to the left, was so impressed with this idea, that he turned back to the right.

For a few minutes all was still; but it was the awful suspense of anxious expectation, not of apprehension. Every eye was painfully extended forwards through the gloomy mist of the atmosphere:

atmosphere, and the ears strained to catch the smallest sound. Occasionally the eastern horizon was anxiously regarded; but though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it seemed reluctantly to break. On a sudden loud shouts were heard in front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention; a roar of musquetry immediately succeeded, and the action there became general.

The enemy, covered by the unequal surface of the ground, had advanced unperceived as far as the videttes, and continued to press on with them and the retiring piquets of infantry to the main position with all possible celerity; one column directed itself upon the ruins where the 58th were posted, the front of which was considerably more extensive than the front of the regiment; but some parts of the wall still standing, it admitted of the regiment's dividing itself, but scarcely notwithstanding did the troops fill up the different openings. Colonel Houlton who commanded, faintly perceived the column of the enemy advancing with beat of drums and huzzas; but fearing lest the English picquets might be preceding, he allowed it to approach so close that the glazed hats were clearly distinguished, when he ordered the grenadiers to
fire,

fire, which was followed by the whole regiment, and repeated with several rounds. These continued and well-directed discharges not only checked but made the enemy's column retire quickly into a hollow some distance in their rear, when it shortly afterwards wheeled to the right, and endeavoured to force round the redoubt in front of its left, with another column, directing its march upon the battery. The 28th regiment stationed there opened a heavy fire on that part of the enemy which attempted to storm the redoubt in front; but the main body of the two columns now joined to a third, forced in behind the redoubt, and whilst some remained to attack it thus in the rear, the rest penetrated into the ruins. Colonel Crowdjye, who commanded the left of the 58th, observing their advance through the openings, wheeled back two companies, and after two or three rounds of fire advanced on the enemy with the bayonet. At this instant the 23d regiment appeared to support, having moved for that purpose from its station, and the 42d also advancing on the exterior side of the ruins, to cover the opening on the left of the redoubt, so cut off the troops which had entered, that after a severe loss they were obliged to surrender. The 28th regiment had presented, as well as the 58th, the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting at

the same time to the front, flanks, and rear. Although thus furrounded, the 28th regiment remained fixed to the platform of the parapet, and preserving its order continued a contest unexampled before this day.*

The advance of the 42d relieved the 28th for a moment from this unequal attack: but as that regiment approached the right of the redoubt, the first line of the enemy's cavalry, passing by the left of the redoubt, floundering over the tents and in the holes dug in the encampment of the 28th regiment, charged en masse, and overwhelmed the 42d: yet, though broken, this gallant corps was not defeated; individually it resisted, and the conduct of each man exalted still more the high character of the regiment. Colonel Spencer, who with the flank companies of the 40th had taken his station in the intervals of the ruins, was for some seconds afraid to order his men to fire, lest he should destroy the 42d, so intermixed with the enemy. But the cavalry passing on, and directing itself against that interval, he was obliged to command the

* Colonel Chambers had the honor of commanding, Colonel Paget having been wounded at the commencement of the action.

firing,

firing, which stopped the cavalry's advance; yet such a feeble force must instantly have been overpowered, if at this critical moment General Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the second line, had not advanced in the most perfect order, and poured in such a heavy and well-directed fire that nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry, that the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, always anxious to be the most forward in danger, received his mortal wound. On the first alarm he had mounted his horse, and finding that the right was seriously engaged, proceeded thither. When he came near the ruins, he dispatched his aids de camp with some orders to different brigades, and whilst thus alone some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse. One of them, from the tassel of his sword supposed to be an officer, then rode at him, and attempted to cut him down; but just as the point of the sword was falling, his natural heroism, and the energy of the moment, so invigorated the veteran general, that he seized the sword, and wrested it from the hand: At that instant the officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d. Sir Ralph Abercrombie did not know the moment of his receiving the wound in the thigh, but com-

plained severely of the contusion in his breast, supposed to be given by the hilt of the sword in the scuffle. Sir Sydney Smith was the first officer who came to Sir Ralph, and who by an accident had broken his own sword, which Sir Ralph observing, he instantly presented to him the one he had so gloriously acquired.*

Sir Ralph, as the cavalry was by this time repulsed, walked to the redoubt on the right of the Guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French, although driven out of the camp, by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry was attempted by their reserve against the foreign brigade, but completely failed. After this their infantry did not keep any longer

* This sword Sir Sydney Smith means to place on his monument.

A singular circumstance happened almost immediately afterwards. Major Hall, aid de camp to General Craddock, whilst going with orders had his horse killed. Seeing Sir Sydney, he begged to mount his orderly man's horse. As Sir Sydney was turning round to bid him give it to Major Hall, a cannon ball struck off the dragoon's head. "This," exclaimed Sir Sydney, "is destiny. The horse, Major Hall, is "your's."

in a body, but acted *en tirailleur*, except that a battalion maintained still a little *flèche* in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which republican colours were planted.

The ammunition of the English was by this time totally exhausted, and the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot, some not having one round left, and for a time there was only one cartouch for the guns in the battery. Whilst such was the state of the contest on the right, the attack on the centre had also continued. As soon as day dawned, a column of grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to the assault of this part of the position. The Guards posted there at first threw out their flankers to oppose them, but these being driven in, when the column approached very near, General Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with the greatest precision. The French General seeing the echelon formation, had advanced to turn the left flank of the guards, but the officer commanding there instantly wheeled back some companies, which checked their movement, and the advance of General Coote with his brigade compelled them to retreat. Finding this effort ineffectual, they then dispersed as sharp shooters, and kept

up a very destructive fire, at the same time that the French cannon played incessantly. The left of the British was never seriously engaged; it was only exposed to partial musquetry, and a distant cannonade.

The French on the right, during the want of ammunition amongst the British, had attempted to approach again close to the redoubt, and some of them also having exhausted theirs, absolutely pelted stones from the ditch at the 28th, who returned these unusual, yet not altogether harmless instruments of violence, as a serjeant of the 28th was killed by one breaking through his forehead; but the grenadier company of the 40th moving out, the assailants ran away, the sharp shooters in front left the hollows they were covered by, and the battalion also evacuated the flèche.

At length General Menou finding that every one of his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression to justify the hope of an eventual success, determined on a retreat. His lines retired in very good order, under the heights of their position; but fortunately for them, there was such a want on the part of the English of ammunition, otherwise the

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the slaughter would at least have been double, as the ground they had to pass over presented a glacis for the farthest range of shot. As it was, the cannon on the left did much execution, and also the king's cutters on the right, which had during the whole action most gallantly remained in their station, although exposed to a body of the enemy within half musquet shot, expressly firing at them, and who had the advantage of a considerable elevation. A corps of French cavalry, posted at the bridge on the canal of Alexandria, to protect the right flank of their lines, and to prevent a movement from the British left, deserves equally to be mentioned for the steadiness with which it maintained its ground, although the shot plunged constantly into the ranks. At about ten o'clock A. M. the action ceased; but it was not till the defeat of the French was thus absolutely assured, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had remained in the battery, where several times he had nearly been killed by cannon shot, could be prevailed upon to quit the field. He had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wound, only occasionally complaining of a pain in his breast from the contusion. Officers who went to him in the course of the action, returned without knowing from his manner or appearance that he

had been wounded, and many only ascertained it by seeing the blood trickling down his clothes. At last his spirit, when exertion was no longer necessary, yielded to nature; he became faint, was placed in a hammock, and borne to the dépôt, cheered by the feeling expressions and blessings of the soldiers as he passed; he was then put into a boat, accompanied by his aid de camp and esteemed friend, Sir Thomas Dyer, and carried to Lord Keith's ship.

When the French army had totally withdrawn, the attention of the English was directed to those miserably wounded men who were left on the field of battle; and the spectacle, from the contractedness of the ground of action, was peculiarly distressing. Those who have never seen such a fight, must not suppose that the effect of this scene altogether consists in the groans and lamentations of the dying; no, it is the gallant resolution with which these acute and terrible sufferings are borne, the energy of the soul subduing the violence of bodily pain; the character of the soldier supported in these last moments, which excite the feelings, and annihilate the rage of hostility.

During the action several explosions were heard
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and seen in different parts of the field. They were now found to have been occasioned by the blowing up of tumbrils, set on fire by the English shells. On the ground were found about 1700 French killed or wounded, 1040 of whom were buried in the course of two days on the field of battle. If the calculation be carried on in the general proportion of wounded to killed, the enemy's loss would appear to have been very considerable indeed; but the number, including the prisoners, at the fairest estimation, amounted to about 4000 men, amongst which were most of their principal officers, killed or wounded. General Roiz lay dead in rear of the redoubt on the right; in his pockets were found the order for the attack, and a letter from General Menou of an interesting nature. Two pieces of cannon were abandoned, one of them, an Austrian eight pounder, was lying within four yards of the redoubt, the four fine horses killed which drew it, and several artillery men. It seems that a discharge of grape from the 24-pounder had effected this, when the French during the darkness had brought up the gun by accident in front of the battery. Four hundred horses were also lying on the field, most of them on the left of the ruins.

In this battle the French standard was taken. The 42d regiment, and a private of the Minorca, by name Anthony Lutz, claim equally the trophy. Major Stirling first obtained possession of it when the 42d so gallantly advanced to relieve the 28th and 58th: this officer gave it to the care of Serjeant Sinclair, who in the subsequent charge of the French cavalry lost it. When the Minorca advanced to relieve the 42d, and routed the enemy, the French had recovered the colours; but Lutz perceiving the standard, advanced from the ranks, and fired at the officer who was carrying it, and who was some way behind his men. The officer fell, and Lutz seizing the standard, reloaded his piece, and was proceeding to join his regiment, when two dragoons rode at him. He fired and killed the horse of one, then rushed upon the rider, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup; but the man begging his life and surrendering his arms, Lutz granted him quarter, and carried the prisoner with the colours to his officer, Lieutenant Markoff, who ordered him to head-quarters, where he received the regulated reward, and the certificate to be seen in the Appendix.* General Reynier states, that the battalion

* The other dragoon who had rode to attack Lutz fled when he saw the horse of his comrade fall. These facts have been properly

talion to which these colours belonged was composed chiefly of Copts; but how Copts came to carry a standard, on which *le Passage de la Serivica, le Passage du Tagliamento, le Passage de l'Ifonzo, la Prise de Graz, le Pont de Lodi*, are inscribed, General Reynier can only explain.

The loss of the English was six officers and 233 men killed; 60 officers, 1190 men wounded; three officers, 29 men missing. The English tents were torn to pieces by the shot, and thousands of brass cannon balls were glistening in the sands. Several servants had been killed in the tents,

properly attested and proved in a Court of Enquiry which sat expressly to investigate the affair: extracts of the documents are inserted in the Appendix.

Since the first edition of this work has been printed, the capture of the standard has become an object of considerable discussion, but the fact is, that the 42d had possession of the standard, which the enemy recovered, and that Lutz certainly obtained his trophy in the manner above described. Whoever attends, in the perusal of this narrative, to the relative situation of the 42d and Minorca regiments, during the action, will find every reason to credit the present statement, and give to Lutz the merit of a splendid individual act of gallantry. Nor can any one draw any inference from this account to the prejudice of the 42d regiment, a corps which in this and every other action during the war has added to the renown of the British character.

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and many miraculous escapes of the sick lying in them are to be told.

Where the conduct of all was so distinguished, it is difficult to particularise merit; but it would manifest ignorance or prejudice not to speak of General Moore with those sentiments of admiration which the whole army felt and expressed. His exertions, personal courage, and ability contributed much to the success of the day, and enhance that character which his former brilliant services acquired him. Wounded early in the action through the leg, he refused to quit the field, and continued in an activity almost beyond belief, when the nature of such a wound is considered.* Brigadier General Oakes followed so meritorious an example, and also severely wounded early in the morning, still remained. To General Stuart's movement the army was much indebted, as it certainly decided the action. Colonel Spencer's conduct was consistent with that which gained him in Holland a fame

* General Moore in Holland was wounded three times before he left the field. Every where he has gained the admiration of the army, exalted the honour of his country, and given pledges of his being one day ranked amongst the most illustrious officers of the age.

never to be obliterated or outrivalled. General Ludlow's coolness and disposition preserved the centre, until General Coote's movement; in short, wherever opportunity presented itself, every thing was done which gallantry, zeal, and ability could perform. Sir Sidney Smith, wounded early, was always in the hottest fire, and most active in rendering every assistance. The captains of the navy on shore, serving with the artillery in the great battery, exerted themselves to the utmost; and the sailors, who could be spared, were of the greatest service in carrying up the ammunition wherever wanted. Some Turks were also employed on this service, but unacquainted with cannon shot, they could never advance above ten paces at a time without dropping it to crouch from the balls. Yet this was not a deficiency of courage in them, but of habit and discipline.

The conduct of the troops cannot but excite wonder in military men, of whatever nation they may be. Surrounded, partly broken, without ammunition, still to continue the contest, and remain conquerors, is an extraordinary evidence of intrepidity, discipline, and inherent courage. The British service may not only pride itself on that day for the battle gained, but as it serves
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for the ground-work of future glory, and if its details are properly impressed, must universally diffuse instruction and confidence in danger.

The battle of the 21st admits, however, of more observations, which should not be deemed arrogant, as information, not personality is the object. The chief error of General Menou consisted in the precipitation with which he decided on the attack. His eagerness to be the aggressor checked those councils, which a more deliberate consideration must have produced. If he was induced from the impression that to wait to be attacked was dishonourable to the French name, such vanity was deservedly fatal. If he despised his enemy, the instance must be added to the long catalogue of misfortunes which this weakness has occasioned. Whatever were his motives, from whatever impulse he acted, as far as general reasons extend, the attack was injudicious; the advantage in one case was dubious, in the other positive. It was obvious that the mere occupation of the barren isthmus of Aboukir could not be the ultimate object of the British general; that his offensive operations could not be long retarded; that whenever he advanced against Alexandria, he not only had to attack a superior army, but one posted on heights so defended,

fended, as to be almost impregnable; that this attempt must, however, be made, or the enterprise in this point abandoned, and thus the success of the 5th and 13th rendered nugatory, beside the probability of opportunity presenting itself to attack favourably during the re-embarkation. The wish of France was to preserve Egypt, not fight for victories, bought at an expence in the event as ruinous as defeat. But in quitting his position, General Menou resigned all the advantages he possessed, and led his army to attack with every disadvantage, acting as if the simple conquest of such an English force was not sufficiently glorious. Had he waited forty-eight hours, Sir Ralph Abercrombie intended an assault by night, which perhaps would have been the most precarious ever hazarded; but the case was desperate, the die irrecoverably cast. Sir Ralph never was sanguine enough to allow a hope that an attack might be made on him, and therefore could not credit such a report; but had he directed the operations of the enemy to ensure his conquest, this would have been the movement.

General Menou's orders for the disposition of his army were excellent, and displayed great abilities, which he undoubtedly possessed, but their

their application to the British position was not exactly correct.

The diversion on the left was too feeble, and not begun early enough to attract the attention of the army to that point. Colonel Cavalier, with his dromedary corps,* did all which could be done, and more than could be expected, as he completely carried the first battery with one piece of cannon, killing or taking every man which defended it; but he had not sufficient force to persevere, or the alarm would have been very great, as the canal once forced, the rear of the left was totally exposed; and certainly, from the ground in front, so favourable for the enemy's superior force in cavalry, the left was the weakest part of the position.

The advance of General Lanusse's column was too quick after the firing on the left was

* It must not be supposed that this corps acts as cavalry. The dromedaries are only used for the speed of conveyance, and the men dismount when arrived at the scene of action. The idea did not originate with the French, but was the custom of the Mamelukes and all Africa. The French did not even improve the saddles, which are the most inconvenient and uncomfortable for an European tight dress imaginable.

heard,

heard, if that diversion had been more powerful, which indisputably it should have been. It certainly was not General Menou's fault that the general attack did not begin sooner. His order shews that such was his intention, but accidents almost always happen to retard.

When the charge of cavalry was made, it should have been supported by a heavy body of infantry: and it was a fatal mistake in whoever commanded the movement of the cavalry, (it is said General Roiz three times refused, from a knowledge of the danger, to charge) to direct them so immediately on the redoubt, as even if the tents had not checked and broken their charge, the sharp wheel which they had to make round it must have enfeebled its impetuosity. If the cavalry, or any part of them, had advanced in the flat between the right and centre, and pressed on through the second line, the confusion would have been almost irretrievable, for the infantry would have sufficiently occupied the first line. It is true, that the cavalry of reserve were placed in this flat, but their numbers, they knew, could not have opposed, with every allowance for gallantry, a probable resistance: it is to be considered also, that the French were acquainted with every part of the ground, and from their

commanding heights could distinctly view every work which had been made by the English, and the whole distribution of their force; but these are contingencies from which few battles are exempt. The **great** fault was in the attack itself, not in the manner of conducting it.

General Reynier, whose history is from beginning to end a tissue of untruths, attempts to insinuate "that General Hutchinson improperly remained a tranquil spectator of the action, with 6000 men opposed to 800;" but had General Hutchinson made a movement with the left wing, he would have broken the position, and merited every disaster. His duty was to remain, in such an action, where the superiority of cavalry and artillery was so prodigiously in favour of the enemy, on the defensive; and nothing could have justified the quitting of his lines, but a positive order from the Commander in Chief for a combined general movement. How many battles have been lost by an indiscretion, the non-existence only of which in this instance General Reynier has a right to deprecate.

His assertion is just, that the battle was fought by the right of the English army only, and he thus entangles himself in bestowing praise where he meant to traduce. The French army, accord-
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ing to his account, was nine thousand seven hundred men strong, including fifteen hundred cavalry, with forty-six pieces of cannon. The British force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the 8th and 13th, by the men taken away for the care of the wounded,* by the absence of the marines, and 26th dismounted dragoons, at Aboukir, did not yield an effective strength of ten thousand men, including three hundred cavalry. The half of that number resisted the concentrated attack of the French army, exclusive of 800 men on its right, and by their own immediate valour and exertions gained the battle. But General Reynier will not find an universal sentiment of approbation as to the conduct of the French right on that day even in his own army. The most distinguished officers have coincided with what was apparent to the English, that the right did not support at any moment (and there were some advantageous opportunities) the exertions of the left, or cover its discomfitures. But

* In a former edition I stated the 92d as being absent, but the mistake originated in that regiment's having been ordered to Aboukir the same morning, and which order was executing, but Colonel Napier, much to his credit, on hearing the firing, returned with the regiment to its original ground, and the corps, in the action afterwards, lost forty-men.

perhaps the Gazette account, which states that the French right was always kept refused, has goaded General Reynier, who commanded it, and who thus without equal foundation retorts. General Menou directed the right to be thrown back only until the left and centre were warmly engaged; and even if his orders were not so explicit, General Reynier must know, that in an attacking army no positive arrangement can be made, and that a general must and should act frequently on his own responsibility, from momentary circumstances. It is in vain he attempts to detract from the honour of this victory, nor will his misrepresentation of the 42d regiment, crouching *ventre à terre* under the cavalry, find credit any where, since the bravery of the Scottish regiment has this war been too frequently witnessed. With more implicit faith will it, however, be believed, that many of the French troops were in a state of intoxication, a habit which has been too frequent this war, and which originates in the issue of spirits always before a pre-arranged attack. But no excuse can be formed for the officers, one of whom, and of rank, was so tipsy when taken, as to be the object of general derision. It must, however, be stated, that the conduct of the French soldiers, whatever might be the incitement, was extremely gallant,
and

and amongst the wounded, several traits of heroism were displayed.

But notwithstanding the importance of this victory, it by no means decided the fate of Egypt. Not an inch of territory was acquired; the French still retained their position, and had an army considerably more numerous than the British in the country; indeed, calculating the mutual losses by an inverse ratio, their strength had increased by the diminution of the previous inferior number of their enemy; yet one immediate benefit resulting, independent of the confidence it inspired in the troops, was the impression made on the inhabitants and Bedouin Arabs, thousands of whom had witnessed the battle, and such a battle as their fathers never recorded to them. The market was immediately supplied with every article, and a direct communication established with the interior. Still the army was, however, obliged to live on salt pork, as the troops did not choose, although an allowance was offered to them for their rations, to trust to the supply of fresh meat, and the commissary dare not undertake it. Its duties were very severe. By night the out-posts were strong, and the whole laid with their accoutrements on, always turning out at three o'clock in the morning. The day was occupied in bringing the provisions from the

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depôt,

depôt, dragging guns, ammunition, wood, &c. and all this was necessarily done by men's labour. The camp was being regularly fortified, and batteries and lines raised, wherever they could add to its strength. In digging, many curious antiquities were found, and particularly cisterns, baths, &c. one of which was so perfect as to have the pipe which conducted the water remaining, and the water mark of its dripping perfectly discernible.

On the evening of the 23d of March Sir Sydney Smith went with a flag of truce to the out-posts, and demanded to be admitted to the commandant of Alexandria. Whilst the officer sent an express to his head-quarters, a conversation commenced between him and the soldiers respecting their situation, and the affair of the 21st; from which it appeared that they by no means fought for Egypt, because they wished to continue in the country; indeed they pitied the English, who had now so fair a prospect of possessing it. The affair of the 21st they regretted as most fatal, and particularly to a number of principal officers; amongst those since dead of their wounds, they mentioned Generals Lannusse and Bodet: they further stated, that General Menou had his horse shot under him,

him, and that most of the officers of his staff had been wounded; that the advice-boat which had left Alexandria on the night of the 21st, was supposed to have failed with dispatches to demand instructions from Buonaparte.

The answer having returned, that no person could be allowed to pass the out-posts, Sir Sydney Smith sent in his letter as from Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith, proposing an evacuation of Egypt to the French, by which they might return to France, without being considered prisoners of war, but that their shipping, artillery, &c. should be surrendered to the English. The letter was addressed purposely to the Commander of Alexandria. The next morning General Friant returned a note, in which he expressed great surprise that such an offer, so disrespectful to the army of the east and himself, should be made, since circumstances by no means warranted the proposal, and that the French were determined to defend Egypt to the last extremity.

During the night a very heavy gale of wind had driven one of the cutters on shore near the palace, but all the crew were saved. The weather by day was very violent, blowing right on shore, and occasionally the storm lasted forty or

sixty hours unremittingly, when the fleet off Alexandria was obliged to stand out to sea, but re-appeared the first possible moment, to the great pleasure of the army, as on the blockade every thing depended.

March the 25th, the Captain Pacha, with six thousand men, arrived in the bay of Aboukir, and the next day landed and encamped at a little distance from the beach. Near them were lying the remains of four thousand of their countrymen, who had perished two years before. The corruption of that field of battle was still intolerable; almost wherever a horse trod, the impression of the hoof laid bare some corpse with the clothes still on.

On the 23d Lord Keith withing to occupy the caravanfary, of which the French had made a post, as commanding the entrance into Lake Edko, Captain Beavor of the navy was detached with some sailors and marines for that purpose. The French fired a few shots as the boats approached, and then ran away, throwing the two guns off the battlements. Its occupation was of great importance, particularly to the premeditated movements; and therefore the next day three hundred Turks, under Mustapha Aga, who
came

came with the Capitain Bey, were marched to Aboukir, and there embarked for the caravanfary; but it was nearly dark before they could pass the boghaz at the entrance of Lake Edko. When they were landed, a party was ordered in advance of the caravanfary, where they continued about an hour, and then returned, nor could any efforts prevail on them to quit the fort during the night. Two marines had deserted in the course of the day, which caused some alarm, lest the account they might give of the smallness of the force should induce the French to attack the garrison. These marines were foreigners, and it is said had never landed for six years before, being always suspected men.

The next morning Captain Marley, of the staff corps, whose instructions were to reconnoitre Lake Edko, proceeded with Lieutenant Wright of the navy in the Tigre barge, attended by one gunboat. From the course of the channel they were obliged to keep near the shore, and when at a little distance from the caravanfary, observed a party of French cavalry watching them, who moved in a parallel direction until they reached the village of Edko, opposite which the boats lay a short time. The Sheik and the principal persons of this little place immediately waded to them, expressing the greatest joy at seeing the English,

English,

English, and the utmost abhorrence of the French. The inhabitants of this village, at the first landing of the French, had committed some act of hostility against the detachment sent to occupy Rosetta. Buonaparte in his dispatches to the directory mentions this circumstance, and adds, that having given orders for the reduction of this town, it was assaulted accordingly; he then proceeds to applaud the gallantry of the troops who stormed, in as pompous a manner as if another Ismael had been taken: whereas this village had not even the mud wall which surrounds all the others in Egypt. As a proof of the resistance, 150 men, women, and children were put to the sword, and not a Frenchman was hurt; yet, no doubt, the banner of Edko is suspended in the Temple of Mars at Paris.

These poor people were eager to give every information in their power, and reported the exact amount of the strength of the enemy at Rosetta. The cavalry which had followed the boats, they said was a patrol, who went daily from Rosetta to the caravanfary, since the appearance of the British fleet.

Some of the inhabitants went to the southern point of the lake with Captain Marley, who completed

pleted his reconnoitring, and on his return to Edko, the inhabitants brought sheep, eggs, fish, and fowls as a present; but Lieutenant Wright insisted on paying liberally, having Sir Sydney's directions for that purpose.

On the 29th Sir Sydney Smith, accompanied by Major Montefor and Isaac Bey, the friend and interpreter of the Captain Pacha, a character well known from his long residence in France, Russia, England, &c. and a man of superior talents, went with a flag of truce to the out-posts, as on the part of the Captain Pacha, Lord Keith, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie; being refused admittance into the town, they were at last obliged to send in their dispatch; to which no answer was ever received.

It was on the morning of this day that the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was known; he had borne painful operations with the greatest firmness, but the ball could not be extracted. At length a mortification ensued, and he died in the evening of the 28th, having always expressed the greatest solicitude for the army, and irritating his mind from the first moment with the anxiety to resume his command. His loss was a severe one; his death universally mourned; he was be-
loved

loved by the troops for his kindness and attention to their welfare, and his courage was their pride and example. His age, combined with his services, exertions, and manners, rendered him an object of enthusiastic admiration; but every eulogium is unworthy of his fame, except conveyed in the pathetic and elegant sentiments of his friend and successor.

“ Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honorable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.”

At night a French deserter came in from the hussars, and an artilleryman who had advanced too forward was taken. The French and English videttes communicated together; but to prevent this, General Menou directed that with each vidette should be placed a Mameluke, or rather Syrian Horseman, in French pay.

On the night of the 30th there was an alarm of an attack, which kept a considerable part of the army under arms; but the fact was, that the French also apprehending one, made that movement which caused the uneasiness. On the 31st eleven Arab Chiefs came to Sir Sydney Smith; they were all very intelligent men, with uncommonly fine physiognomies, and well clothed; but the people who accompanied them were ill-looking fellows, had only a cap on their heads, a loose pair of linen pantaloons, and a coarse blanket cloth thrown round them, which also formed a hood. It was impossible to regard these Chiefs without thinking of the Wise Men of the East, and to see their simplicity of manners, without remembering the Patriarchs; for no civilizing innovation has been introduced amongst the tribes since their time; although it is not by this meant to insinuate that there has not been a corruption of morality, as these people are now common robbers. At night a deserter came over, and reported that a hussar had been shot the evening before, having been caught in the attempt to desert.

Whilst the army remained in this state of inactivity, the mind of General Hutchinson, on whom the command devolved, was most anxiously

ously agitated. He found himself succeeding to a situation unexpectedly, under circumstances the most unfavourable. The previous victories must have inspired hopes in England and Europe, nay almost positive confidence of the success of the expedition, if common prudence directed the operations; and Egypt after the battle of the 21st he was aware would be considered as conquered. His trophies could probably therefore be few, whilst his responsibility was great: he saw, however, that the campaign was but commenced, assuredly with favourable auspices, but no decisive superiority. A greater army than his own was still to be combated, strong places to be taken, climate to be endured, supplies to be obtained from the interior, communication to be established with the Vizir and the Indian army; and, independently of these formidable difficulties, the plague and other diseases menaced to reduce to his force. Lord Keith also assured him, that after October he could no longer remain on the coast with the shipping, on account of the weather and state of the vessels.

To abandon the enterprize was infamy; to complete it with glory a precarious prospect; an attack on Alexandria was too desperate an enterprize to be undertaken, but to remain inert was impossible;

impossible; the fleet wanted water, the troops fresh provisions; he therefore determined to make an effort, which, if successful, might procure the possession of Rosetta, and command of the Nile. After the losses of the British it was impossible to detach away any considerable force, but the 58th regiment and the 40th flank companies, with a detachment of Hompesch's Hussars, consisting of thirty men and eight pieces of cannon were spared for this service. With this corps four thousand Turks, who had arrived with the Captain Pacha, and now put under the orders of the Caia Bay, were destined to act. Colonel Spencer commanded the whole. April the 2d, the corps marched for Aboukir, where it was to cross the ferry, and join the Turks.

On the same day the Captain Pacha, accompanied by Lord Keith, came to visit the grand camp, and the line was turned out to receive him. His appearance was striking, his dark eye was expressive of that energy and character for which he is so distinguished, and although he seemed to have bad health, he did not look more than 35 years of age: his face was handsome, and his fine black beard beautiful; his manners were remarkably elegant, and at the same time dignified.

dignified. At the moment he was passing, a French Mameluke deserted, who was brought to him; he received the trembling apostate with a graciousness which made a pleasing impression on all the beholders; then gave him, in consequence of his contrition, and the intelligence he communicated, a handful of sequins. The Mameluke, unable to restrain the emotion of gratitude, and breaking through the regulations of their decorum, snatched at his hand to kiss it; but the Captain Pacha withdrew it from his grasp with a grace and smile of kindness, which Lord Chesterfield would have considered as the model of amiableness. When he came to the market, the Arabs shouted, and he sent them handfuls of gold.

The appearance of the army delighted him, and the scene was more interesting from being reviewed in the field of battle. As the Commander in Chief's tent was not large enough for his reception, the Captain Pacha had sent two very fine Turkish ones to the general as a present. Their tents are made of coloured cotton, richly worked in the interior, very large, always cool, and perfectly adapted to a country where there is little rain. After being refreshed there some time, he returned to his own camp.

April

April the 3d a violent gale of wind commenced, which lasted three days. The fleet was obliged to leave the coast, and several boats were lost in the bay; the tents and every thing were covered and filled with sand, although the wind blew north-west.

On the 5th the news arrived of the *L'Africaine* having been taken, which was soon communicated to the French.

On the 6th, certain intelligence having been obtained that the French had detached to Rosetta, the 2d regiment or Queen's were ordered to the support of Colonel Spencer. On the 7th, Major Wilson was sent with a flag of truce to the general commanding the out-posts, to declare, that unless the French videttes were withdrawn into the line from which they had advanced, General Hutchinson would be obliged to begin a species of warfare which was to be deprecated when it could be avoided, as an useless loss of lives. At the same time orders were issued for the cavalry of the reserve to hold itself in readiness to sweep off the enemy's line of posts. But the answer was returned, that as the videttes had actually advanced, they should be withdrawn into the original line, at the same time it was to

be understood that their retreat was not the effect of the menace. April the 8th, three men having deserted of Hompesch's hussars, the corps was withdrawn from the out-posts, which caused an universal regret, as their intelligence and conduct had been always the admiration of every officer in the army. Several patrols had been sent to Beda; and about this time it being understood that the French were passing a convoy, a strong detachment of infantry and cavalry marched along the canal, and advanced to a village beyond and to the right of Beda, but where it was then ascertained that the convoy had passed during the night.

April the 10th, accounts came with the intelligence of the capture of Rosetta. Colonel Spencer having passed his army across the two ferries, had proceeded on the 7th to Edko, keeping his right upon the lake, and only detaching patrols along the beach of the sea, by which he also avoided the melancholy sight of the number of dead bodies thrown overboard from the hospital ships, and which the sea had unhappily yielded up again. He arrived at Edko without opposition. The Turks, however, had given him much uneasiness, as they kept by way of amusement firing constantly in the air with ball. On the

the morning of the 8th, the army arrived before Rosetta, after a painful march across the Desert, where frequently in the hollows of the ground the air was so hot as to excite the sensation of the vertigo, and where from the mirage it seemed a lake of water, reflecting even the shade of the date trees; an extraordinary deception which no reasoning or strength of sight could remove. The French to the number of 800 men, were drawn up in front of Aboumandour, a very high sand hill above the Nile, to the southward of Rosetta, on which was an old tower; but as Colonel Spencer approached, the greater part passed across the Nile in dgerms ready for the purpose, and the remainder retreated towards El Hamed: that body which had crossed the river drew up on the bank, and remained so posted until two guns were brought up, and fired at them, which killed and wounded several men. Colonel Spencer then detached the Queen's and five hundred Arnauts to occupy Rosetta, and blockade Fort St. Julien, whilst he proceeded with the main body to El Hamed.

The position of El Hamed was remarkably strong, the right being on the lake, the left on the Nile, and the highest banks of a canal in Egypt running along the front; but it must be

understood, that these canals are not like those of Europe, as they have no water in them, except at high Nile, the level of the country forming their bed, and the banks being raised above it. They may properly be called canals of irrigation.*

When the army first arrived on the banks of the Nile, a dgerm was seen sailing up it from Rosetta, in which was the commandant. A great number of shots were fired at him, but he persevered, and escaped. The same evening several Turkish gun-boats forced the Boghaz, obliging the French dgerms, which defended the passage, to sail away, and anchor under the walls of St. Julien.

The easy conquest of Rosetta was an object of astonishment: it had been considered so important an acquisition, that its capture was deemed very precarious; indeed, Colonel Spencer's instructions were to abandon the enterprize, if he met with serious resistance. The French, had

* The beds of the canals are frequently of a higher elevation than the level of the country, that when cut, all the water may be let out.

they

they suspected this movement, might have passed a corps round Lake Maadie, and leaving a post at Beda, advanced on the isthmus between that lake and Lake Edko, thus intercepting his retreat, whilst an attack in front would have placed him in a desperate situation; and had there been an enterprising partizan employed, he might have made much advantage afterwards of that movement, and considerably distressed the English, by destroying the ferry-bridge, &c. &c. and this occasion offered until the 21st of May, when Beda was occupied by 450 men of the Coldstream, and the 3d Guards, 20 dragoons, with four pieces of cannon: which detachment was commanded by Colonel Turner.

April the 11th, towards evening, the camp was thrown into some alarm by the firing of heavy guns, which proved to be a salute to the Imperial, Russian, and Spanish colours, hoisted in the centre of the French position, as a proof of France being at peace with those nations, and a lure to the foreigners in the British army. The same day, as a French serjeant came to a vidette, with the view of circulating a paper to seduce the troops, many of which had been distributed, the vidette fired at, and wounded him.

April the 13th was a memorable day for Egypt. The military position, commercial relations, and climate of Alexandria, have from thence to date their new æra. The position which the army occupied, required so large a force, that it was impossible to maintain it, and prosecute the new expedition. In General Roiz's pocket had been found a letter of General Menou's, anxiously expressing a fear that the English had cut the canal of Alexandria,* and thus let the waters of the sea into Lake Mariotis. From that moment it had become the favorite object of the army, as, by securing the left and part of its front, the duty would be diminished, the French nearly cut off from the interior, and a new scene of operations opened. But there were very serious objections to the measure. First, the mischief it might do was incalculable. The Arabs could give no information where such a sea would be checked: the ruin of Alexandria was probably a consequence, and whilst it strengthened the British left, it secured the south

* The canal commences at Rhamanieh, and passes over fifteen or sixteen leagues of country; the bed of it is higher than the level of Egypt, but the land which lay between it and Lake Mariotis, was considerably lower than the level of Lake Maadie.

front of the French position, except from a new landing; but the urgency of the present service at last superseded general philanthropy and more remote considerations. General Hutchinson reluctantly consented, whilst the army was in raptures; never did a working party labour with more zeal; every man would have volunteered with cheerfulness to assist. Four cuts were made, of six yards in breadth, and about ten from each other, a little in advance of the farthest redoubt, but only two could be opened the first night. At seven o'clock in the evening the last fascine was removed, and joy was universal. The water rushed in with a fall of six feet, and the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, the consolidation of ages, was in a few hours destroyed by the devastating hand of man. Two more cuts were finished the next day, and three more marked out; but the force of the water was so great, aided by the removal of a few banking stones worked out by the foot of an officer (who justly thought that these partial measures would not complete the inundation for months) as soon to break one into the other; and now an immense body of water rushed in, which continued entering for a month with considerable force; it then found nearly its level, but from the sand absorbing the water, there was always a fall of nine or twelve

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inches

inches at the entrance. The first boat which floated on this sea was one belonging to Lord Cavan, whose efforts had contributed so much to its formation.

On the 13th, in consequence of this inundation, the 18th, 90th, 79th, and detachment of 11th light dragoons, marched to support Colonel Spencer; on the 17th instant, the 30th and 89th followed; on the 18th Generals Craddock and Doyle were appointed to commands in the division of the army at Rosetta.

Colonel Spencer had continued in his position at El Hamed without any movement, except sending patrols forward as far as Dèroute to reconnoitre the enemy's position at El Aft; and in the Delta, Sir Sydney, with some dragoons, and Captain Marley, advanced to Scindioun, from whence they could distinctly view the enemy's position.

It was on one of these patrols the erroneous statement of General Menou was ascertained respecting the canal of Birimbal, which he described to Buonaparte as being now, during the whole year, navigable from Lake Bourlos to the Nile, and descanted on the advantages to be derived from

from this great work ; whereas there has not been a single improvement made by the French ; except at high Nile, it is dry as all the other canals are, and four miles from Lake Bourlos it terminates, then running under an arch-way like a drain. But Buonaparte himself began these tales of wonder, and General Menou copied the story of Birimbal from his romance of the canal of Alexandria.

Sir Sydney, with an armed flotilla, proceeded also several times up the Nile nearly as far as El Aft, cavalry patrols protecting his flanks. It was discovered in these reconnoitings, that the French had sunk dgerms across the exterior passage of the Nile, formed by an island on the right of their position, and that their batteries completely commanded the inner channel, it not being more than sixty yards across, which preparations seemed to indicate resistance.

The difficulty of bringing up the heavy artillery from the depôt, which was necessarily formed on the beach of the sea, three miles distant, delayed the operations against the castle of St. Julien* until the 16th, when the two batteries
which

* When Lord Dalhousie invested it, the Turks found in
the

which had been erected in the wood of date trees, within three hundred yards of the works, first opened their fire against the south-west angle; at the same time the Turkish gun-boats, which had passed over the Boccage, and anchored within cannon-shot of the English batteries, commenced a brisk cannonade; and the Captain Pacha, having erected a battery with an 18 pounder in the Delta, against the north-east front, directed and always fired it himself.

Anxious to give an example of his courage and zeal, he night and day remained by this battery, animating by his presence the crews of the Turkish vessels, who kept up the cannonade with the greatest intrepidity, conforming themselves to the orders of Captain Stevenson and Captain Curry of the navy.

The castle of St. Julien was defended by fifteen pieces of cannon, and four armed dgerms were anchored under the walls. One of these on the first day was set on fire, and drifted to the eastern bank: instantly Captain Curry in his

the wood near it two Frenchmen, who had inadvertently straggled out of the fort, and whose heads, after severely mangling them whilst living, they cut off, and paraded through the streets of Rosetta.

boat,

boat, notwithstanding a heavy discharge of grape, forced by the cable, with the view of saving from the Arabs any men which might have been on board. Entering the dgerm, he found four Arabs with their knives drawn, anxiously searching for some concealed victim! He had scarce quitted her again, towing off also these people, before she blew up. When Captain Curry presented the pennant he had taken from her to the Captain Pacha, his highness gave the crew forty sequins, and expressed the strongest admiration of their conduct.

The English batteries fired but slowly from the want of ammunition, and made no impression the first day on the fort, since they were obliged by shot to open an avenue through the trees; the embrasures were also not correctly formed, and therefore during the night they were altered. As the object was so small, and the vessels and English batteries were within each other's shot, and in the line of fire, it would have been impossible, at any rate to continue the bombardment during the night: but several gun-boats took that opportunity to pass the cable.

On the morning of the 17th the cannonade began again. The Captain Pacha resuming
his

his station, fired with the greatest correctness and velocity. The French had, from the retinue about the spot, discovered that some distinguished person was stationed there, and suspecting him to be the Captain Pacha, turned against this work a 24 pounder and a mortar; but he answered shot for shot with the same undauntedness.

On the 18th the wall of the salient angle exposed to the battery began to fall, and open the enemy's guns; but they still worked them, although the Turks, creeping within fifty yards of the works, covering themselves by the felled date trees which formed the glacis, maintained a constant fire of musquetry. Another French gunboat had been sunk, and now one was set on fire by a shell from the Turks, which blew up with a considerable explosion, sinking with her falling yards the fourth and last. In the evening Sir Sydney Smith, who had been actively employed in fitting out four captured dgerms at Rosetta, sent them to attack the castle at the south-east front; after firing several rounds, the woodwork of the carronades broke from the recoil, and they were obliged to retire. Towards night a mortar battery which had been erected considerably to the right, within three hundred yards of

of

of the Nile, and nine hundred of the castle, under the directions of Captains Lemoine and Duncan, fired some shells with extraordinary accuracy; one of them pitched on the center of the roof, and tore away the flag-staff and colours, which the French never dared to erect again.

On the morning of the 19th, at eight o'clock, a white flag was cautiously elevated above the parapet of the castle, when all firing from the English ceased, though not so immediately on the part of the Turkish gun-boats and Captain Pacha, who did not see it for some time. An officer then came out with a letter from the commandant, who requested six hours armistice, in order to settle the terms of the capitulation. Lord Dalhousie returned for answer, that the garrison must surrender prisoners of war at discretion, but that he would give them private property, and six hours to pack up their effects; which was agreed too; and fortunate was their surrender, as in a few hours the Turks, eager for the assault, would have stormed the place.

The defence of the garrison had been very good, and did the commandant much credit.*

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* During this siege, an officer of the Queen's lost his life by
having

An event now took place, which nearly destroyed the harmony and co-operation subsisting between the English and the Captain Pacha. The capitulation had been granted without consulting him, and he felt indignant at a treatment which he imagined might proceed from a wilful neglect. Sir Sydney Smith, who, as soon as he was informed that the terms were settled without the Captain Pacha's being previously acquainted with them, foresaw what would happen, went in person to remedy the mischief, but could only induce him by his representations to sign the capitulation, not accept the flag of the fort, or view the transaction in its real light: he complained that a former flag of truce had come out of the fort, with the nature of which he had been left unacquainted; but was pacified as to this, when he was told that the communication had only related to the restoration of an Arab child, which had been driven in a boat under the castle walls; and on Lord Dalhousie going himself, and representing that no neglect was intended, the memory

having, at his out-posts, given an order to the sentries to fire on any person who did not answer to the first challenge during the night. A remarkable fatality converted this precaution into his own death warrant.

of the transaction was obliterated, and this meritorious officer was always afterwards a great favourite.* Notwithstanding the good sense of the Captain Pacha, he was jealous of these attentions, being then unacquainted with the character and frank integrity of his new allies.

At three o'clock the garrison marched out, and laid down their arms on the glacis. The old respectable commandant, who had been thirty years in the service, was visibly affected when he ordered his people to ground their arms, and covered his face with his hands.

The number of men taken was 268, of which 160 were well clothed and able soldiers, having recently come from France; the remainder were invalids, but all capable of service in a garrison. About forty men had been killed and wounded during the siege. A Turk who had been taken was found in the fort; and several black ladies,†
with

* Lord Dalhousie had been appointed commandant of the siege, with full powers, by Colonel Spencer. The Captain Pacha never announced his intention of being present, nor could it be supposed that he intended to take the command.

† An officer of the artillery asking how much a black woman cost,

with a pretty French woman, marched out. A comely face, and a white straw hat, with a wreath of flowers, was an agreeable sight, where only the monsters had been before seen.

It was now found, that previous to the siege on the east side was an almost practicable breach, made by the former pressure of the Nile against the wall, but which the Captain Pacha's fire had considerably enlarged. Amongst the guns were several of the Cormorant's carronades, and a beautiful French 24 pounder.

The surrender of this castle was an event of moment, since the fort secured the command of the Nile, and removed much uneasiness respect-

cost, mentioned the word *Espagnol* (signifying Spanish dollars), which reminding the unfortunate female of that term so often made use of at her sale, she suspected a second barter, and giving a dreadful yell, ran and hid herself, but her pleasure was as great to find that her master did not mean to dispose of her. At the Alexandria camp, however, five sailors clubbed and bought a woman, brought by the Arabs to market, for seven dollars; she cried much during the auction, but when her lot was decided, quietly submitted to be led by a cord to the lake, where she was stripped naked, scrubbed well, then embarked in a boat, and carried off to their ship.

ing

ing an attack to relieve it. Why such a post, when abandoned to its fate, had so considerable a garrison left, is a question not to be resolved but by the enemy. General Reynier observes, that the English asked, on seeing only maimed soldiers march out, "where the garrison was?" but either this is a Gallicism, or the General has been grossly misinformed.

The facility with which Rosetta and St. Julien had been taken, inspired hope, and General Hutchinson determined to press on his operations against the interior. On the 23d therefore he sent the Quarter Master General and his staff, and on the 26th himself arrived at Rosetta, having on his way paid a visit to the Captain Pacha in Aboukir Bay, who had returned on board of his ship.

General Coote was left in the command of the army before Alexandria, a command which required extraordinary vigilance, much judgment, and arrangement, without the pleasure of active service, or the brilliancy of a successful warfare. His camp was now very bare of troops, and his lines too extensive for the force; yet he was to be more weakened, and still expected to maintain himself. Such was the necessity.

The officers of the army who went to Rosetta, expected to find Savary's glowing description of its beauties realized, as they had found some justice in his remarks on that Desert, which separates Aboukir and Alexandria. Their mortification was extreme, to discover that the boasted delights of this city only consisted in comparison. The sight of verdure after that barren waste is a gratifying novelty, which pleases and fascinates the eye, in proportion to the previous suffering of the traveller, relieving his despondency, and charming the senses. For two or three miles immediately on the bank of the Nile, towards St. Julien, is certainly a luxuriant vegetation, but beyond that, and over in the Delta, the scenery is bleak. To the south, hills of sand are only to be seen.

Rosetta is built of a dingy red brick; a great part of the town is in ruins, many of the houses having been pulled down by the French for fuel: the streets are not more than two yards wide, and full of wretches, which the pride of civilized man revolts at to acknowledge human. The quantity of blind is prodigious; nearly every fifth inhabitant has lost, or has some humour in his eyes; the erysipelas, the dropfy, the leprosy, the elephantiasis, all kinds of extraordinary contortions,

tions, and *lufus naturæ*, constantly offend the fight.

Filth, mufquitos of the moft dreadful fort, vermin of every kind, women fo ugly, that, fortunately for Europeans, their faces are concealed by a black cloth veil,* in which two eye holes are cut, ftench intolerable, houfes almoft uninhabitable, form the charms of Rofetta and Savary's garden of Eden. The quay is alone a handsome object, and this certainly might be made noble. On it General D'Efiaign had fitted up a houfe in the Italian ftyle, in which were the only clean apartments in the city, excepting a houfe belonging to Mrs. D'Arcy.

The Nile, the celebrated Nile, afforded, uncombined with its bounties and wonderful properties, no pleasure to the fight; the muddy ftream, rotten banks, putrifying with the fatnefs of the flime left from the waters; its narrow

* The Mahometan ladies confider their faces as the facred part of modefty, and are totally indifferent as to the concealment of the reft of their perfons. Thefe faces they are particular in ornamenting on the forehead, cheeks, and chin, with large blue blotches, refembling the tattooing, which failors ufe to mark themfelves with.

breadth, not being more than a hundred yards across, impressed with no idea of majesty ; but a reflection on the miraculous qualities of this river, an anticipation of the luxuries which the very kennelly waters would afford, rendered it an object of considerable gratification.

The baths at Rosetta were esteemed very fine, and Savary describes them as such ; therefore they must be mentioned. The curious stranger enters first into a large saloon, where many people are laying naked in bed, or getting up, having performed their ablutions : he then passes through narrow passages, smelling offensively from the abuses allowed in them, whilst each becomes gradually warmer, till the steam heat is almost intolerable ; when he arrives in the room where the baths are, he sees a number of naked people, in various attitudes, some in the water, others rubbing down by the attendants, with gloves filled with cotton. Their horrid squalid figures, with their bald heads, excepting a little tuft of hair on the crown, and bristly black beards, made the place resemble a den of satyrs. No scene could be more disgusting ; and it is astonishing how any person could remain five minutes, since the air is so tainted and oppressive. Hundreds of English, attracted by the description, attempted
to

to get as far as the baths, but were obliged to turn back when they had advanced a little way. The Mosaic pavement, with which, however, the floors are paved, is really beautiful, and repays some inconvenience.

In the town had been found large French magazines, and much private property. The commandant of the place, St. Foe, particularly suffered, having been obliged to leave all his baggage behind. Madame Menou had retired in time, but several Egyptian ladies, wives to the French officers, were left, who all received the most generous protection from the English. By the greatest exertions, the town had been saved from a Turkish pillage, only a few houses being plundered, and these but triflingly: amongst those who lost some property, was Mrs. D'Arcy, the sister of Wortly Montague's wife; she had resided at Rosetta many years, having married a merchant, by whom she has a son, whose learning and researches will probably one day throw much light on that interesting country; unfortunately, she had through apprehension left her house; the Turks finding it empty entered, but only took some plate, and did not meddle with a most valuable library.

The day for advancing being fixed, the Captain Pacha determined to move on with his troops, in which resolution he was much encouraged, as his influence over his own army and the inhabitants would prove from his presence alone of great advantage, but when his zeal and activity were included, the measure became of the first consequence. Still he did not allow unalloyed satisfaction at this intention to be felt. From unaccountable prejudices, he insisted on the recall of Sir Sydney Smith, the favourite of the Turkish empire. The Turks probably never forgave that generous honesty, which would not betray an enemy, and they attributed to him the defeat of the Grand Vizir at Heliopolis.*

Sir Sydney was endeared to officers and men by his conduct, courage, and affability. With

* Sir Sydney, on receiving Lord Keith's refusal to the convention of El Arish, instantly sent off an express with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of that treaty; thus preferring the maintenance of his own and nation's honour to a temporary advantage. The messenger arrived a few hours before the evacuation was to have been completed, and the consequences are well known. But certainly the Turks had so fully depended on its execution, as to have advanced without artillery or ammunition.

pride

pride they beheld the hero of Acre; with admiration they reflected on the convention of El Arish; they had witnessed his exertions, and calculated on his enterprize. The Arabs regarded him as a superior being. To be the friend of Smith, was the highest honour they coveted, and his word the only pledge they required. No trouble, no exertions, no expence had been spared by him to obtain their friendship, and elevate in their opinions the national character. But the order was given, and remonstrance would have been unworthy: it is true, that as a seaman he could not complain on being ordered to reassume the command of his ship; but the high power he had been invested with, the ability he had displayed as a foldier and statesman, entitled him to a superior situation in this expedition, and the interest of the service seemed to require, that the connexion he had formed with the Mamelukes, should through him be maintained. The army, therefore, saw Sir Sydney leave them with regret, but he carried with him their best wishes and gratitude.

Colonel Montrefor, of the 18th, was appointed to be commandant of Rosetta, for which situation no officer could have been better selected,

as it was one which required very conciliating manners and discretion.*

Previously to quitting Rosetta, accounts came that the Christians of a village in the Delta had been murdered by the Turks. General Hutchinson fearing that this might be the signal for a general massacre, obtained from the Captain Pacha an edict, which menaced with the severest punishment those who should be guilty of the crime.

On the 2d of May an Arab, who had been in the French service, joined the patrol in the Delta; and two English sailors, who had belonged to the Cormorant, with two Arabs, the same day escaped from the enemy, and arrived in the British camp; they could give no very important information, but their joy was excessive, to find themselves again amongst their countrymen.

* A general amnesty and exemption from requisition had been assured the inhabitants; but the Turkish general in Rosetta, notwithstanding, levied a contribution of fifty purses on the merchants, each purse to contain five hundred piastres, and threatened them with strangling if they discovered the transaction to the Captain Pacha or to the English. In five days the money was paid. Such transactions as these made such a command very delicate.

A few

A few days before a messenger had arrived from Morad Bey, with an answer to a letter sent from the English Commander in Chief, accompanied by the Grand Signor's firman and Captain Pacha's guarantee of protection. He assured the English general, that if his army advanced towards Cairo, he would join him, but observed that he dare not make a decisive movement previously; and in a letter to Sir Sydney he wrote, "How can I be attached to the French? Have they not deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and revenue; but it is on the English faith alone I can depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence." Alluding to the hostility of the Turks against him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people who professed the same faith, he beautifully expresses himself, "Melancholy is it to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing was an arrow made of an eagle's feather."*

* Many reasons forbid the publication of the whole of this interesting letter, but it is preserved as a very valuable document, which hereafter will reflect considerable credit on the character of our country, as esteemed at that time in Egypt. One passage will elucidate this—Morad, after praying for the destruction of the French, adds, "I have never *begged* any body's protection, but I *solicit* that of the British, for I have ever considered them as more faithful to their word than European courts."

It

It was now that the general received advice of his death: he had been seized with the plague, whilst gradually descending the Nile to join the English, three days before his decease, and expired on the 22d of April. Twice in the former part of his life had he been cured of this malady, but his constitution was latterly impaired by his anxieties. The Mamelukes this year had suffered severely from the plague; for in Upper Egypt this fever had raged so violently as to destroy sixty thousand people, and forty thousand in Cairo were attacked with it. On his death bed Morad charged Osman Bey Tambourgi,* whom he had recommended as his successor, to attach himself to the English. The French say, *vice versa*; but the proof is in his former correspondence, and the immediate communication made of this advice by Tambourgi himself, with an assurance of implicit conformity.†

The Beys and Mamelukes regretted the death of this extraordinarily great man sincerely, and when they buried him at Saouague, near Tahta, they paid the compliment to his valour of break-

* So called from having been a drummer originally amongst the Mamelukes.

† See the Appendix.

ing his sabre into his grave, as an expression that none of them was worthy after him to wear his arms.

General Reynier's statement of his character shall be given, since the French had most communication with him, and therefore should know his character best.

“ Morad Bey was no ordinary man; he possessed, in an eminent degree, the virtues and the weaknesses which attach to that point of civilization the Mamelukes are arrived at. Abandoned to all the impetuosity of his passions, in his first emotions he was terrible; but his vehemence frequently subsided in an extreme weakness. Gifted by nature with that ascendancy of character which marks men for empire, he possessed the instinct to command, without any knowledge of the duties of a governor. Prodigal and rapacious, he lavished all on his friends, and then oppressed the people to supply his own wants. To these general traits must be added an extraordinary strength of body, a courage not to be daunted, and a confidence superior to misfortune, which never for a moment deserted him in all the numerous crises of his distracted life.”

Morad

Morad Bey had fought for his independence as long as there was prospect of success, but deserted by the Turks,* and pressed by General D'Estaing, he had no other alternative than to be driven from the whole of his government, or compromise for a part; and he judiciously chose the moment to treat, when his means still made his alliance desirable to the French; but he never was in heart reconciled to them: his religion and pride forbade the friendship, independent of other motives.

The following anecdote is also related, as the cause of his personal inveteracy against them. Some French officers of rank assembled at the house of Madame Morad Bey, the widow of the great Ali Bey, who entertained them with all the hospitality she could possibly manifest, and as they retired, presented the young Beauharnois with a ring of considerable value. A few days afterwards a contribution was laid on her property, of far greater extent than her proportion had previously been fixed at, and much beyond her means to pay. On complaint being made, she received for answer, "that as it was under-

* He had information of a person being even appointed to assassinate him.

stood the still possessed very costly ornaments, no mitigation could be pleaded." This exaction then appeared to be founded on the present she had so generously, but as it proved imprudently, given to the relative of Buonaparte, with the motive of shewing honour to that general. As such it was considered as the grossest breach of faith and hospitality, nor could Morad Bey ever speak of the transaction without the bitterest expressions of indignation.

The day before the army moved, the Sheik of Rhamanieh's son came to Rosetta, having been deputed by the inhabitants to pledge fealty to the Turks, and to obtain the assurance of protection from the Captain Pacha and the English general; since they feared that whenever the armies moved against Rhamanieh, the defence of the French would involve them in destruction. His father, he stated, had been arrested by the French general who commanded there, was charged with holding a correspondence to betray the place, and momentarily expected to suffer death.

The effective force of the English army assembled at El Hamed amounted to

Cavalry

Cavalry	-	-	-	300
Infantry	-	-	-	4000
Artillery	-	-	-	112
				<hr/>
Total	-	-	-	4412
				<hr/>

But the want of horses to drag the cannon, and of camels to carry the ammunition and water for the men, there not being above one hundred altogether, was a very serious disadvantage.

On the 4th of May the 89th regiment, 20 of the 12th dragoons, and a body of Arnauts, amounting to near 1200 men, under the command of Colonel Stuart, were ordered to cross the Nile, and take post at the canal of Birimbal, with instructions to conform his movements to the main army. With this column were appointed

- 4 Turkish guns with horses
- 2 Six pounders
- 2 Royal howitzers
- 2 Medium 12 pounders.

These were directed to remain in the boats until wanted, or sufficient bullocks could be obtained to drag them; but positive orders were issued that receipts should be given for whatever was taken, not to make use of the French mode of supplying their wants.

In crossing, the flat funk, and several Albanians were drowned, nor would the rest embark again until the 89th shewed them the example. May the 5th, the main army marched in two columns, the Turks preceding; one passed along the Nile, the other along the shore of Lake Edko. The advanced guard consisted of the 11th light dragoons, the Corsican Rangers, the 40th flank companies, the Queen's, and 58th, under the orders of Colonel Spencer; General Craddock's brigade was composed of the 8th, 18th, 79th, and 90th regiments, with the 12th dragoons, and a detachment of the 26th. General Doyle's of the 1st, 50th, 92d, and 30th. The Turkish army, under the orders of the Caia Bey, was about 4000 strong. With this force moved twelve field pieces, and eight Turkish field pieces. Many Turkish gun-vessels and English armed dgerms failed at the same time, and the transport dgerms followed. Captain Stevenson, of the navy, whose subsequent zeal and gallantry rendered such services, was commodore of the whole, and with him were Captains Curry and Morrison, officers of the greatest merit. The Turks moved with some regularity, and did not fire off their muskets as formerly. On the march, Mulley Mahammed, the Prince of Fez, who had come from Morad Bey, joined; his attendants were but few, but

but those very fine men, well appointed, and himself was mounted on an Arabian mare, of considerable excellence. This singular man was considered by the inhabitants as a faint; his piety had acquired this character, and his bravery could only be accounted for from his consciousness of being invulnerable. Always a determined enemy of the French, he had headed the insurrection at Damanhour, when Buonaparte was in Syria, and contributed much to retard the subsequent capitulation at Cairo. A reward had been set on his head, but he gained greater triumph from the fidelity of the people: his dark eye was remarkably keen, his face florid, and extremely handsome: his turban and robe were white, edged with gold; a red and gold embroidered pouch was suspended from his shoulders by a broad gold lace belt: his arms were superiorly fine, his horsemanship and dexterity admirable; indeed, every motion was graceful; his modest yet noble mien, a certain expression of sanctity in all his actions, enforced an immediate idea of his pretensions and character. He prophesied success to the English, and remained their zealous friend; but after the fall of Cairo, avarice produced him enemies, and he was compelled to fly from Turkish persecution. A few days previously he came to seek the General, from whom

whom he had received every proof of favour and regard, but who unfortunately was now gone into Cairo. His countenance had lost its animation, and his spirit seemed broken with misfortune.

The army halted on the rear of the canal of Deroute, and encamped in two lines, arriving on the ground about three o'clock in the afternoon; but it was afterwards thought that the Turks, who had encamped in the first line, were not sufficiently supported by the English, therefore, at six o'clock the next morning, the British camp advanced.

General Hutchinson, who had received advices of the Grand Vizir's army having arrived at Salahieh, and of his advanced guard having taken possession of Balbeis without meeting any opposition, with the assurance of the Vizir that 2000 cavalry which he had detached forwards with Tizir Pacha were on their march to join, and would arrive about the 6th of May in the English camp, determined to await their junction before he attacked the French, and particularly as the left of their position seemed favourable for cavalry operations.

Colonel Stuart advanced in front of Montubis, a village famous for the dancing girls,* on the 5th instant, and on the 6th, between Sindioun and Foua; some Turks were sent forwards into the latter town, as it was understood that a French detachment was there, which regularly went to collect provisions, money, &c.

Colonel Stuart and Lord Blaney proceeding to reconnoitre, were met by some Arabs, carrying four heads of Frenchmen, who had been surpris'd in the town; but the remainder of the detachment, an officer and eleven men, had escap'd across to El Aft. The exultation of the inhabitants was very great at seeing these reeking trophies, and was only surpass'd by the acclamations with which they hailed the arrival of the British officers.

* These dancing girls, called Almas, whom Savary describes as beautiful, elegant, and voluptuous, are frightfully hideous, ill dress'd, and coarse: their movements, instead of being graceful, are violent and disgusting contortions of the body, inspiring very different sensations from those they are intended to excite. At Cairo there was not even a better sort; but it should be related as an instance of the state of society even among the Franks, that these Almas are constantly employ'd to dance before their women and themselves; and that at a wedding they become an unalienable part of the ceremony, and are admir'd in the degree that they are most indecent.

Towards

Towards evening a gun-boat, stationed at the back of the island in the Nile on the side of Foua, fired some shot, and a body of Eclaireurs appeared. Colonel Stuart had directed the guns to be brought up directly, and another detachment of Albanese arriving, he placed the whole behind a bank, when a brisk fire of musquetry and artillery commenced, which continued during the evening and part of the night. The French attempted to pass four gun-boats, but two were sunk by the Turks, one was destroyed by themselves (a fine gun vessel), and only one escaped; 26 large dgerms were abandoned, and several of the enemy were killed.

General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jassâ. As this act and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more

solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

Three days afterwards, Buonaparte, who had expressed much repentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near
Jaffa;

Jaffa; * where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not refrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the *etat major*

* Buonaparte had in person previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what did you do here?" The Janissary, undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the same; your answer will be that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte even smiled. "He is saved," whispered some of the *aids de camp*. "You know not Buonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy, "that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say." The opinion was too true. The Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered.

who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to fights of cruelty.

These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to
every

every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by enquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

The next circumstance is of a nature which requires indeed the most particular details to establish, since the idea can scarce be entertained that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized.) to be deprived of existence, when in a state

which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carriere, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

Buonaparte finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from important reasons cannot be here inserted; on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: "Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession will allow me to become a murderer; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them."

Buonaparte

Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.

Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact. Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the feat of government, and

If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparte from Syria; they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparte of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that

that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparte with strangling, previously at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparte attempted to justify himself;* the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion. Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institute; no, Buonaparte's policy foresaw the danger, and

* Buonaparte pleaded that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of El Arish, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled in passing through Jaffa by the commandant to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks: but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparte was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Scavans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the physician president of the institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.

power:

power produced the erasure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole: there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate enquiry: and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

Let us hope also that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France during her contest for *Liberty* or *Slavery*.*

On

* An anecdote, after what has been said against, should, however, be related, as a proof of the commanding genius of Buonaparte, and will be told as repeated by a Frenchman of high consideration. “Buonaparte, notwithstanding his successes and fame, was considered by those who knew him best, as not in himself possessing the great qualities ascribed to him. We regarded him as indebted more to an extraordinary peculiar good fortune, forcing irresistible circumstances to his advantage,

On the morning of the 7th, about ten o'clock, the Turkish cavalry, who had gone out on a pa-

vantage, than to his own abilities and exertions. After his disasters and repulse at Acre, our opinion was confirmed, and we expected to see him return dejected, conscious of disgrace, his shame aggravated by the recollection of his having sent a messenger with a dispatch, and which was read in the institute, in which he expressed himself, "In three days I shall be in Acre; when you open this, be assured that Dgezzar Pacha is no more."—The day before he entered Cairo, we received orders, to our astonishment, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. for honour to the conquerors of Syria and of Dgezzar Pacha. The troops who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them, heard their chief and themselves, stiled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forwards a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their character was retrieved." It was then, said the narrator, we pronounced Buonaparte really a great man. We confessed his knowledge of human nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation, and re-assume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades (now approving of their dishonour) had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him.

trole

trole along the Nile, discovered that the French had quitted the position of El Aft, and nearly at the same time the English patrole on the right entered. It had been evacuated in the night. The position was certainly not tenable without great danger; the canal which formed the front line, was to be ascended in every part with facility, and the left was easily to be turned; for though the ground there was swampy, still cavalry could pass, and even light guns with some caution. A hill of some height was in rear of the left, but which could not be maintained, as the Nile formed such a considerable elbow, that troops continuing there when either flank was turned, must have have been cut off; besides these weak points, Colonel Stuart's column completely enfiladed their rear, and his fire could have swept their whole position.

In the evening Colonel Stuart moved to Surafa, and the main army advanced to occupy the position abandoned; but to prevent the danger of contagion, the army was encamped a little beyond the canal, and the French huts were ordered to be burnt. The quantity of flies which filled the tents here is almost incredible. Towards night, milliards settled in each; when gunpowder was placed under them, and they were blown up,

up, the ground appeared as if a cask of currants had been spilt.

At El Aft the first accurate statement of the French force opposed immediately was obtained, and in such a manner that the story ought to be recorded. As the soldiers rambled amongst the huts to find any thing useful which might have escaped the conflagration, one of the 40th flank company saw a piece of paper, marked with figures, lying amongst the ashes; he could not read, but with a consideration which cannot be too much commended, went instantly to his officer, Captain D'Ancer, who, perceiving the paper to be a return, delivered the same to the general; it proved to be a detailed statement of the French army, as certified by the commissariat and commanding officer, making their force amount to 3331 men, including artillery, sappers, and miners, but exclusive of the cavalry, which was near 600 men. A curious letter was also brought, written by General Belliard to another General, in which he complained of the weakness of his garrison at Cairo, the dreadful ravages of the plague, and stated that in six days one hundred and fifty soldiers had died, and within the last forty-eight hours his wife and three servants, concluding with the melancholy account of

of his having been in consequence obliged to burn all his butin or plunder.

The same day the Turkish cavalry arrived, and disappointment was greater even than when the Turkish horses were received at Marmorice: in fact, these troops were not real Turks, but Syrians, almost naked, many without arms, beyond belief miserably mounted, totally undisciplined, even to savage wildness. Such a reinforcement, and their force did not exceed 600 men, offered no great advantage, yet was not to be rejected. The Captain Pacha was vexed particularly at the defalcation of their numbers; and the alleged acts of pillage and oppression, which they had been guilty of in their march across the Delta, were subjects of serious mortification to him.

Every body was anxious to see Fouah as the former capital of Egypt, but the place was worse than Rosetta. Good bread was, however, sold there, the French having instructed them in the making of it, as they here had their ovens.

Madame Menou's relations lived in this town, but they were not insulted, she had been here a little before the arrival of the Turks, and was again obliged to fly.

The

The intelligence of Mr. Keith's death, secretary to Sir Sydney Smith, was brought this day : he had just embarked at Rosetta, when the dgerm upset, and although his body was soon found, his life could not be saved. It is remarkable, that he was an excellent swimmer, and that the Arabs all escaped, but a Turkish interpreter was also drowned. In Mr. Keith, Sir Sydney lost a most valuable friend, and the world an excellent man ; he was well known, and much respected in the French army, having been at Cairo arranging the convention with General Kleber. At Acre he had particularly distinguished himself, and was always solicitous to merit the esteem of his illustrious protector.

On the morning of the 9th the army marched towards Rhamanieh, Colonel Stuart at the same time moving towards Dessoug. Colonel Murray, Assistant Quarter-Master General, proceeded with an advanced guard, and approached close to the canal of Alexandria, which originates at Rhamanieh. Some horsemen were on the banks near the village of Mehallet Daout, who came forwards waving their swords ; they proved to be friendly Arabs, who eagerly seized the hands of Colonel Murray and some officers with him, and kissed them, a token of respect and amity which was

was by no means agreeable, particularly since it was known the plague raged in every village now before the army.

Colonel Murray with Major Birch went along the canal towards the right of the French position, and Major Wilson, with some Arabs proceeded obliquely to its left, and advanced within four hundred yards of the village of Rhamanieh, forcing the enemy's videttes to retire a little. In ten minutes the Arabs, always on the look-out, discovering the French cavalry were mounting in the camp, and part moving out towards the English army, obliged him to retire, and the French passing a division along the canal towards Mehaliet Daout, nearly cut off Colonel Murray and the patrol. The Commander in Chief could scarcely credit the report that the French had taken up a position with the right, centre, and left on the banks of the Nile; but they seemed anxious to correct the error, as about six hundred cavalry now appeared on the right of the front of the canal. The army had halted, the Turks being on the left, and the British in two lines on the right. The Syrian cavalry had advanced and skirmished closely and sharply with the French, who on their part opened two guns against them: at the same time the gun-boats, by a breeze

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springing up, were enabled to come into action, and open a heavy fire upon the position.

The 12th dragoons were advanced, after some time, with two guns, to support the Syrians, and prevent the French making any movement; on the artillery unlimbering, the French opened from several guns such a fire as to force the cavalry to take ground to the right, the first shot having carried off Captain King's leg, and killed three horses; the second also had struck in the squadron. The British artillery, however, remained firm, maintaining the cannonade until positive orders were brought for them to retreat. As the enemy seemed only inclined to cover themselves, not to make a serious attack, the general remained on the ground he had first halted on: partial skirmishes continued between the advanced guards, and the Turkish and English gun-boats kept up an incessant cannonade. During the affair a French shell had set on fire a corn field, which burnt furiously, threatening to extend all over the country; happily it was extinguished. An unfortunate chance shot took off the leg of Colonel Thompson of the artillery as he was riding to the left. He died afterwards at Rosetta, exciting universal regret.

Colonel

Colonel Stuart had proceeded towards Deffoug, changing his order of march, as the 89th, and the English dragoons, with artillery, now preceded the Turks some way, the colonel anticipating an attack. At half past five in the morning Colonel Stuart had perceived a patrol of the enemy, whom some officers shortly joined, and who, after attentively reconnoitering the British column, returned to Rhamanieh. Unfortunately this morning there was an universal failure of wind, so that the gun-boats could not get up the river; but Colonel Stuart moved on, and proceeding himself to reconnoitre, was joined by the Sheik of Deffoug,* who headed a body of Arabs.

The French having ascertained the force of his column, pushed across the Nile about 300 of the infantry, some cavalry, and light artillery. Colonel Stuart seeing this, halted his troops to await the co-operation of the gun-boats, which might cut off the retreat of the detachment, and to gain time for the combined attack of General Hutchinson, lest the enemy might send across a very

* This man proved of infinite service to Colonel Stuart afterwards, in procuring for him information, provisions, &c. and the Grand Vizir, on Colonel Stuart's recommendation, gave him a considerable post in the country.

superior body, and overpower him. On General Hutchinson's advancing, and a detachment of Albanese coming up, he sent the latter forwards to Deffoug, when a brisk fire of musketry commenced. At about eight o'clock, the breeze springing up, the boats made sail, the French batteries, as soon as they came within their range, attacked them, nearly sinking, almost directly, one commanded by Lieutenant Hobbs, of the Delft, who was killed by a 24-pounder, which entered in at the bow, striking off the heads of two sailors, and wounding two more.

Colonel Stuart then directed Lord Blaney to advance with the grenadiers of the 89th regiment, and six light guns, to take up a position along the Nile, within half-musket-shot of the batteries. The enemy opposed in their front, resisted for about a quarter of an hour, then fled to their boats, covered by the fire of two heavy batteries on the island, commanding the entrance of the harbour of Rhamanieh, where the Nile was not pistol shot across.

The grenadiers of the 89th regiment, notwithstanding the constant discharges of grape, marched steadily on to the dyke running parallel to the Nile, behind which Colonel Stuart directed
them

them to lay down; at the same time Captain Adye, placing his guns on the most eligible points, continued for some time, exposed as he was, contending with the superior weight of metal, and the covered batteries of the French: but as General Hutchinson was not attacking the position, Colonel Stuart directed that Captain Adye should discontinue the cannonade, and place his men out of fire.

By the bold movement of the 89th, the French dgerms, above seventy in number, which were endeavouring to escape, had been forced back into the harbour, and one gun-boat sunk. The Turks, who had seen with admiration this advance, could scarce find expressions to explain their sense of such conduct. “*Bono John!*” was vociferated whenever any officer crossed over from the western bank, and “** Tib!*” with the thumb raised, was re-echoed by the Arabs; indeed, the gallantry of that movement, and the judicious disposition of Colonel Stuart, must ever reflect the highest credit on him, Lord Blaney, Captain Adye, and the corps.

* *Tib* signifies excellent. John was the Turks constant appellation of an Englishman, who added *bono*, supposing it to be the English interpretation of their word, signifying good.

The Turks moved down afterwards; they were posted on the right and left of the British, but no representation could induce them not to fix their standards.* Although these of course attracted the fire of the enemy, shewing them where their guns should be directed, prejudice and habit overcame reason and fear. During the whole of the evening, the French fired their cannon occasionally against them, and whenever they saw officers passing to and from Dessoug.† The action with the gun boats and batteries continued incessantly, in which the Turks behaved with the greatest intrepidity, the Captain Pacha encouraging them from the shore, and always taking opportunities of exposing himself to danger.

At four o'clock in the evening General Hut-

* With every ten men is a stand of colours. The Turks always plant these on the little parapet they throw up wherever they stop, and behind which they sit, the ditch being in the rear, consistent with their principle of doing every thing contrary to Europeans.

† They fired occasionally at a mosque, near the village, in which the wounded were placed. As the surgeon of the 89th was dressing them, a cannon ball broke through the dome, whirled round it, and fell upon his back, without doing him the least injury.

chinfon

chinfon, imagining that the enemy might endeavour to retreat on Alexandria, moved the army forwards, that the canal might be completely gained.

Colonel Spencer with the advanced guard marched on in column, as the French cavalry covering the canal were also in column, with several pieces of cannon near them, which opened their fire on him; as he persevered the French retired, and Colonel Spencer gained the canal and the village of Mehallet Daout, into which he detached the dragoons and Corfican Rangers.

General Hutchinfon advanced with Général Craddock's and General Doyle's brigade in line, inclining to the right, as he approached the canal refusing his left, to *appui* that flank upon the Turks: at the same time Colonel Spencer formed on the right the 40th and 58th regiments, leaving the Queen's in column.

The French cavalry, when they saw the army advancing, deployed into line, taking post between Lacana and Mehallet Daout, so as to menace in flank and rear any movement made across the canal. During this deployment, two British guns cannonaded them.

General Hutchinson seeing this movement of the cavalry, and having succeeded in his first object, determined to delay all further offensive measures until Colonel Stuart had been enabled during the night to erect batteries, which must force them to leave their camp; Captain Brice, who had been sent across there, having returned with the report that in eight hours the guns would be covered, and that when they opened, the French troops could not remain half an hour in the position. The French tirailleurs kept up a very smart fire, which galling the British line, flankers from each regiment were sent out to cover the front, and the two British guns placed on the canal fired frequently; the Turkish artillery was also active; the French cavalry in the plain masked their cannon, and only detached skirmishers to the front, against which the British cavalry was opposed.

As night was now advancing fast, and the flash of each musquet became visible, General Hutchinson was anxious to put an end to this ineffectual firing, he therefore ordered the Turks who had crawled up within a hundred yards of the works, where they laid behind a bank, to retire; instead of falling back in a dispersed order, they assembled together, being solicitous to move in a manner

manner which they fancied to be more consistent with English tactique. When the formation was completed, they set off running. The French conceiving they were flying from them through fear, pursued, shouting in triumph. General Hutchinson, afraid that the Turks would suffer severely, found himself obliged to move his line to the left, particularly as between them and him was a considerable interval. The French seeing his intention checked their pursuit, but before the British movement could be completed, night set in, and the army halted on the march without entering into the new alignement. The exertions of the generals, officers, and staff, could not remedy the confusion, so that the troops remained uncertain of their position. To add to this misfortune, the Turks on a sudden, after every thing was tranquil, began a sharp fire of small arms, which almost increased to volleys, causing in the army some uneasiness, lest a night attack might be intended; this alarm proved to be only extreme precaution on their part, as they would not allow a shadow to be seen, without ascertaining its substance by shot. Colonel Stuart's corps remained quiet till about eleven at night, when a French gun-boat attempting to escape out of Rhamanich, the 89th and Turks recommenced firing, which the enemy returned.

In the result, she was obliged to put back. Afterwards, during the night, Captain Curry, with the English light boats, gallantly passed, and took a station beyond Rhamanieh.

The soldiers of the main army, tired with the excessive fatigue of the day, laid down to rest on the ground without care; but this was an anxious night for those who had the responsibility of their welfare.

A considerable time before day-light, the whole was under arms. As soon as day dawned the troops moved to occupy the appointed position previous to the attack.

Whilst this was arranging, Captain Brice, who had been across the Nile to inspect the new batteries which had been completed, with the guns mounted in them, returned, bringing the information that a French officer had come out of the fort of Rhamanieh with a flag of truce, and that the entrenched camp was evacuated. As soon as morning broke, a white flag had been perceived on the fort, and an officer carrying one in a boat passed down the Nile. The Turks with Colonel Stuart instantly firing, compelled him to come over to that side. When the nature

ture of the flag of truce was explained to them by Colonel Stuart, he was allowed to pass on, but the Captain Pacha's troops, on his landing on the western bank, insisted on his going to their commander. At length he reached the general, to whom he offered to surrender the fort at discretion, which of course was accepted, and, in addition, preservation of private property was accorded the garrison.*

An order was instantly issued to forbid any person going into the village of Rhamanieh, as this officer represented that the plague raged there violently. The precaution was too late, the Turks had crawled up at day-light close to the position, entered without resistance, and proceeded on to the village in the hopes of plunder, ransacking even the hospitals. Some fears were entertained, lest they might wish to destroy the garrison, but they did not commit any violence.

During the time the French officer was with Colonel Stuart, heavy artillery had been heard in advance, which proved to be Captain Curry

* Captain Proby was sent to the Captain Pacha for his approval, who was much pleased at the attention, which convinced him still more of General Hutchinson's consideration and respect.

cannonading the French column of cavalry in their retreat, by which they lost several men.

The French had left eighty dgerms in the harbour, but had sunk all the gun-boats, overturned the artillery on the batteries into the river, destroyed the ammunition, and had done all the mischief possible. The wreck of property left, was a sufficient evidence of an unexpected and precipitate retreat.

In the fort into which British officers were admitted, were found very large magazines of biscuit, aqua dente, and flour, which could not be spoilt in so short a time.

The Captain Pacha was extremely angry at the French having left things in this state, and almost regretted that a capitulation had been granted to the garrison of the fort; indeed, where mercy was to be sought, such conduct was extremely unhandfome. The place ought to have been abandoned altogether, or left in such a state as is usual for works to be resigned in at a capitulation.

Whilst the occupation of the camp was going forwards, Colonel Browne, of the 12th dragoons, arrived

arrived at head-quarters, with the report that an officer of his regiment had fallen in with a French detachment of cavalry, all of whom he had made prisoners. They presently appeared, about fifty in number, of the 22d dragoons, the best and heaviest regiment in the army of Egypt. The story of the French captain is the best to give on this occasion, since there was no inducement for him to make a *French dispatch*. “ He had left Alexandria four days since, with his party, as an escort to an aid de camp of General Bron, carrying dispatches from General Menou, and at the same time he conducted the post. About a mile from the right of Mehallet Daout, he was attacked by a party of Bedouin Arabs, who shot a serjeant, severely wounded the aid de camp, who fell from his horse, and five dragoons, but who with assistance were enabled to proceed. Presently afterwards he saw, to his great astonishment, a party of English dragoons advancing, for he had no idea of the allied armies being in the neighbourhood, since the inhabitants assured him that they remained at Rosetta, and that the firing he heard the day before proceeded from thence. I was struck, said he, with the gallantry of the young officer who headed the detachment: he came on in the most determined manner, and resistance, from every circumstance, being

being ufelefs, I held out a white handkerchief, and furrendered."

The party of thirty dragoons of the 12th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Drake, had gone out to water their horfes; hearing fome firing, they proceeded to the fpot, and happily arrived in time to have the credit of the fuccefs, and pleasure of faving the lives of fo many men, who certainly would have been facrificed by the Arabs. From this little affair a leffon is to be repeated, "that at no time, in an enemy's country, fhould cavalry go out in watering ord r without fide arms." The 15th at Lannoy, in the year 1793, from this precaution, was engaged in a very brilliant rencontre.

Some men were fent to find the aid de camp and ferjeant; the latter's body was difcovered, but the head was taken away. The aid de camp had been more fortunate, and was brought into camp living; obferving there was an anxiety expreffed refpecting the difpatches he carried, he folemnly affured the officer, that "in the bufle of the affair he had dropped them;" fearch was, however, in vain, although the officer who went to find them picked up the poft letters, which were of courfe opened and read; no news was
gained

gained by the refusal; they all mentioned that politics and public subjects were interdicted in conversation and writing; nor did they even explain the cause of the arrest of Generals Reynier and Damas by General Menou in Alexandria, who had in the night of the 5th of May sent them on board two vessels, which sailed directly for France: the *Lodi*, carrying General Reynier, escaped, but the vessel in which General Damas embarked was taken, fortune again favoring one of her most deserving candidates, Captain Young,* of *La Pique* frigate, by giving him above six thousand pounds in specie, which was on board the vessel, and which was said to be General Kleber's property; to General Damas Captain Young handsomely restored one hundred and fifty pounds, and to his officers their respective claims. The French government, of course, would reimburse General Kleber's widow, if the export of specie was not contrary to General Menou's orders. This circumstance it is supposed will furnish grounds for litigation in France.

General Doyle, with the 12th dragoons and

* Captain Young shared for the capture of the rich galleon taken off Cadiz.

a regiment of infantry, made a reconnoissance during the day to Damanhour; he found that none of the enemy had retired that way; General Hutchinſon had conjectured that poſſibly General Lagrange might have made a feint as if going to Cairo, then changed his direction, and turned to Alexandria.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the garrifon of the fort marched out, amounting to one hundred and ten men, commanded by a chef de brigade. It had been the intention of the French general to leave only fifty; but the troops broke open the liquor magazines, got drunk, and the furplus number could not walk away.

The loſs of the Britiſh in the affair of Rhama-nieh amounted to four officers wounded, fix men killed, and nineteen wounded. The Turks ſuffered more conſiderably. The French loſt about one hundred men.

Their force had been augmented by troops from Alexandria ſince they quitted El Aft, and the number, as then aſcertained and confirmed by the French generals afterwards, amounted to four thouſand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, with thirty-three field pieces. The Britiſh army
was

was under four thousand men, including the corps in the Delta, sickness having begun to break out amongst the troops. The Turks were five thousand, including those with Colonel Stuart; yet from the want of discipline, their strength cannot be rated as equal to more than fifteen hundred Europeans. The French officers dined with the general; and neither they nor the soldiers seemed to regret their destiny.* The cavalry officers were particularly pleased, being allowed to dispose of their own horses.

On the same day an Arab came from Major Moore, who with the patrol had passed from the camp before Alexandria to Birkit.

The position of Rhamanieh merits a particular description, as on the circumstances which occurred there much difference of opinion has arisen, and independent of this, as the most important military station of the interior, it demands attention.

At Rhamanieh commences the canal of Alexandria, which at high Nile is filled with water,

* General Doyle met amongst the officers one who had served against him in America, and whom he had known there.

when the cisterns of the latter city are replenished. At all other seasons of the year the canal is dry. From Rhamanieh it runs parallel with the Nile, about three hundred yards, then takes a direction at right angles to the village of Mehallet Daout, whilst one branch opens again into the Nile, from which this part is then distant about one hundred and twenty yards. This certainly was the line of defence which ought to have been chosen, since the maintenance secured a retreat upon Alexandria, nor could it easily have been turned, as a boggy bed of a rivulet, originally the Canopic branch of the Nile, ran nearly in a right angle from the left to Lake Edko, in attempting to ford which an officer had nearly been lost; even allowing that this position had been forced, the one the French did occupy would have been always open for them, by throwing back their left. This position had its right appuied upon the shoulder of the angle the canal formed, its left on Rhamanieh; in the centre was a fort (with nine guns), surrounded by a deep ditch; much swampy ground was in front of the fort, and before the whole ran the canal of Alexandria. Thus far the position was good; yet as its depth from the Nile was not a hundred and fifty yards, and the Nile not a hundred wide, no troops could possibly remain,

when

when batteries were erected in the Delta. Grape would have reached any part, and the troops could only have been sheltered by running into the canal, from whence they could not have opposed the front attack.

Since the operations of the 9th instant have excited such variety of opinions, and many believe that the whole of the French force at Rhamanieh might have been taken, there would be great presumption in an inferior officer to pronounce positively whether the movements were dictated by judgment, and an impetuous ardour properly restrained; if more might have been done, or the retreat of the enemy altogether prevented: therefore the arguments on each side shall be fairly given, which, with the previous account, and an accurate attention to the ground plan, will enable every one in this instance to form his own idea, nearly as well as if he had been present.

When the Commander in Chief advanced towards Rhamanieh, his intention had not been to attack, conceiving that the French position must be too strong for a *coup de main*, for he knew that a fort had been constructed, and the camp entrenched. When therefore he found that

the position, although not so good as was expected, still was tenable against an assault without great loss, but that Colonel Stuart could during the night erect batteries which would destroy the fort, and oblige the enemy to abandon the position, with the only alternative of fighting in the field or surrendering, he did not wish to sacrifice troops by an unnecessary premature attack. To prevent the enemy's retreat was, however, an obvious consideration. The occupation of the canal cut them off from Alexandria; but to invest completely the position of Rhamanieh, required an extension of the line so as to appui each flank on the Nile. So extended, did the circumvallation offer a sufficient resistance to oppose any sortie during the night? It was impossible to change altogether the front, throwing the right on the Nile, and left on the canal, as then the gun-boats, dgerms, &c. would be exposed to certain destruction, and a route left open for the French to Rosetta or Alexandria, round Lake Edko; and with troops who could make the march they afterwards did, it is manifest, that if they had once gained the lead, the British could never have overtaken them. If the French obtained an advantage by this separation, the consequences would have been highly disastrous, even the fate of the campaign probably

bly changed, since the united force of the British army was so inferior, as not to admit of any unprofitable diminution.

Such was the reasoning which induced the general not to attack, or make any movement, except for the occupation of the canal; and in the evening, when the Turks retired, every one saw, from the interval then left between them and the English, what danger must have accrued had there been still a greater.

When the army in the evening moved forwards, and the French so judiciously posted their cavalry, was it possible to have executed the investment? Would not the position, so well chosen, in which the eight hundred cavalry with their cannon formed, have rendered any movement across the canal dangerous? Certainly the French cavalry, acting with the greatest advantages, had been beaten by infantry on the 8th, 13th, and 21st; but was what had been the surprising effect of desperate emergency to justify a general's despising his enemy?

On the other hand there are officers who assert (certainly on presumptive premises), that the French, from the choice of their position in the

morning, shewed their inclination to surrender, if this could be done with any tolerable pretence of justification; that the Turks and British were numerous enough to have assaulted or invested the place; and that as for the cavalry, former successes justified the inference that their attacks were not to be dreaded; that the general movement in the evening was useless, if such was not the object; and, in short, that Rhamanieh might have been the theatre of as much brilliant success as the isthmus of Aboukir.

The questions may be resolved into two.

Ought General Hutchinson to have attacked the entrenched position of Rhamanieh, defended by 4000 infantry, 800 cavalry, 33 field pieces, and 17 pieces of position, without waiting for Colonel Stuart's co-operation by the erection of batteries in the Delta? or was he enabled to have invested the camp, and maintained the blockade during the night, after the necessary extension of his line three miles, with the force he had under his command?

The French unfortunately combine with their opinions so much national vanity, that from them an honest judgment can with difficulty be obtained;

tained ; they however unanimously ridicule the idea of an investment or attack : and a French general of character has declared, that on the contrary, he proposed attacking the Turks and British when the interval between them was first observed.

General Reynier, who has said every thing he could against the English, never accuses them for their conduct on this day ; he is indeed wrong in describing a corps as passing by Damanhour, and turning the canal, since although the movement would have been judicious, the force of the army did not admit of the necessary detachment ; he is equally inaccurate in asserting, that General Hutchinson prevented a movement of General Doyle's in support of the Turks.

Others pretend as an additional reason for the attack or investment, that the French troops began to evacuate the position during the day. The account of the French themselves afterwards confuted this report, and therefore those troops which were seen passing up the Nile, could only be detachments occupying villages and other posts, to secure the retreat.

But whatever difference might exist on this
L. 4 subject,

subject, the possession of Rhamanieh was in itself most important, acquired also with a facility beyond the most sanguine hope. The armies of Generals Menou and Belliard were now divided by a vast extent of desert, combined offensive operations rendered impossible, the command of the Nile secured, and a communication with the whole interior of Egypt established.

Considerable, however, as were these advantages, much remained to be done. The French had retired, if repulsed, not weakened; their concentrated force from Cairo might always advance; they had lost a position, yet still possessed the capital and principal fortresses of the country. Great successes had been gained certainly, but the fate of the campaign was by no means fixed.

On General Hutchinson's judgment was to depend its issue. Should he pursue to Cairo, or return to Alexandria, was the anxious alternative. On the one hand, he had to consider, what would be the probable consequences of exposing the Turks under the Grand Vizir to the attacks of the French, then not confined in their operations by any fear of the advance of the English? Whether the Mamelukes, who had as yet not openly avowed their alliance, would be friendly
or

or hostile, if he did not move to their assistance, as Morad Bey had declared was necessary? Whether the Indian army would not be subjected to disaster, if he tamely allowed the French to oppose them with their whole force? Whether the junction with the Grand Vizir, the Mamelukes, and his army, did not ensure success at Grand Cairo? If, on the contrary, General Hutchinson returned to Alexandria, could he besiege the place? Had he men enough to defend the Nile, the entrenched camp before Alexandria, and to admit of his detaching a corps to the westward, which was deemed absolutely necessary for the siege, and which corps would have not only to resist the sortie of the garrison, but any attack which General Belliard, with his army, might make from the side of the Desert?

On the other hand it was maintained, that the march to Cairo ensured ruin, since there were no magazines formed: that the army must live on salt provisions, as fresh meat could not be ensured, and the state of the Boccage rendered that supply even precarious; that the diseases of plague, dysentry, and blindness, the heat of the climate, the fatigue to be undergone, the want of shoes, &c. must soon reduce the troops, and even if any number did arrive at Cairo, they would be incapacitated

pacitated to fight the enemy, or begin the siege of what was thought a strong fortress, the citadel; finally, the conquest of Cairo was not decisive: for so long as the French retained Alexandria, so long were the English in fact not masters of Egypt; whereas if Alexandria was taken, Cairo must be glad to capitulate.

These objections distracted for some time the Commander in Chief's mind; he was aware of the truth of the last argument, but could not himself discover, or had pointed out to him the means of attacking Alexandria, while General Belliard's army remained in force.

He dreaded the difficulties which were to be surmounted by the troops under his command, but at last he decided that the movement was indispensable. "My natural habits and present state of health would persuade me not to attempt a march where such exertion must be necessary, and in which, probably, I shall fall a sacrifice to the climate; but my duty to my king, country, and the gallant men who have been employed in this expedition, determine me to undertake it. If I succeed, great will be my satisfaction to find that my capacity did not betray their interests: if I fail, the consciousness of integrity, and the
most

most ardent devotion for their glory and welfare, will support me in retirement." Such was the language which accompanied this decision; and even those who disagree with his opinion, must applaud his zeal.

The opposition to the measure was considerable; but General Hutchinson, notwithstanding, continued firm to his decision, shewing that perseverance, where he thought himself right, was a quality he amply possessed.

The entrenched camp of Rhamanieh was given up to the Turks, who left a garrison of about three hundred men in the fort, the dgerms taken were divided amongst them and the English, which proved a vast benefit, since they enabled, in two or three days, the quarter master general to convey the men's knapsacks by water, and facilitated the conveyance of the stores. Hitherto the troops had carried every thing themselves, nor had the officers any more baggage than what was placed on their own backs. This of course was not much on a march, where the thermometer was never less than 95. A shirt pulled off, and dried in the sun, under this necessity, became a real luxury.

On the morning of the 11th of May the army advanced, passing through a fine corn country already ripe. The Turks were guilty of excesses, which the Caia Bey attempting to refrain, he was hooted at, and obliged to desist. The English officers, however, preserved some authority over them, and by their exertions checked the disorders; but they had already done the great mischief, rifling the pest-houses, whose wretched tenants were abandoned to die, The people of the villages with gratitude crowded around their deliverers; they beheld with wonder the British columns follow in regular order the Ottoman troops, and preserve the strictest discipline, since they had, by fatal experience from Mahometans and Christians, expected a very different conduct.

The British soldiers only required water, frequently even rewarding the trembling natives who brought it, and whose only prayer but feeble hope had been to escape ill usage.

All language is insufficient to give a just idea of the misery of an Egyptian village; but those who have been in Ireland, may best suppose the degree, when an Irish hut is described as a palace, in comparison to an Arab's s^tye, for it can be called by no other name.

Each

Each habitation is built of mud, even the roof, and resembles in shape an oven: within is only one apartment, generally of about ten feet square. The door does not admit of a man's entering upright; but as the bottom is dug out about two feet, when in the room, an erect posture is possible. A mat, some large vessels to hold water, which it is the constant occupation of the women to fetch, a pitcher made of fine porous clay, found best in Upper Egypt, near Cunei, and in which the water is kept very cool, a rice pan, and coffee-pot, are all the ornaments and utensils. Here then a whole family eat and sleep, without any consideration of decency or cleanliness, being in regard to the latter worse even than the beasts of the field, who naturally respect their own tenements. It was scarcely possible to witness this disgusting scene, to behold men, women, and children so wretched, so hideous, and so abject, without reflections not very conforming to doctrines, which for the happiness of the world should be inculcated; and the beautiful reasoning of the philosopher and poet was scarce sufficient to check the presumptuous discontent:

Respecting man, whatever wrong we call,

May, must be right, as relative to all.

When the proud steed shall know, why man restrains

His fiery course or drives him o'er the plains:

When

When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod,
Is now a victim, and now Egypt's God :
Then shall man's pride and dulness comprehend
His actions, passions, being, use, and end.
Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd, and why
This hour a slave, the next a deity.

All the villages have high mud walls, flanked with little towers of the same material, to protect them from the Bedouin Arabs. At night a constant guard is mounted, and the faithful dog, who in Egypt is treated with such barbarity, protects the thankless master's property ; for the magazines of corn are formed on the outside of the walls, otherwise they would be too extended for the inhabitants to defend. The property of each village is deposited in one place, every individual owner heaping up his own rick, and keeping it distinct from his neighbour's, by preserving a path round. Thus the depot resembles a corn field in England, only more compressed, previously to its produce being carried into the barns : but the interior regulations of these little independent states, and general system of government in the country, are beyond the limits of this work ; nor could they be so well described as General Reynier has succeeded in doing, who has exemplified these details in a very instructive and able manner, since his knowledge and talents were

were not, as in his Military History, fettered with prejudice. A perusal of his work is well worth the attention of every man to whom legislation is interesting.

The army halted on the banks of the Nile, at Shibraghite, about twelve miles distant from Rhamanieh, and Colonel Stuart took up a position between Sasflé and Mehallet Dyc. A Sirocco wind had raged the whole day, and inflaming the atmosphere, parched the troops almost to suffocation. Major Montrefor was sent from hence to the Grand Vizir's army, which it was understood had arrived at Balbeis, and with discretionary instructions to proceed on to Suez, to which place Admiral Blanket at last had been able to beat up, with one hundred and fifty men of the 86th, not the Indian army, as General Reynier states.

The army marched again the next morning to Kaffa Haudeig, passing over the ground where the Mamelukes experienced their first defeat. The Sirocco wind still continuing, the dgerms and gun-boats could not get up to the army, and therefore General Hutchinson halted on the 13th; Colonel Stuart continued also in his position at the canal of Feraftak.

In the evening Major Wilson was sent with dispatches to the Grand Vizir, to represent that from the extraordinary march of the French, it was probable they intended to attack his Highness, and to intreat him not to risque an action, which might compromise success, already obtained, and which the delay of a few days would ensure from mutual co-operation. He arrived there on the 15th, and found the Turkish camp already in movement, from an account just brought of the French having in force advanced from Cairo. A conference was instantly held, at which were present the Grand Vizir, the Reis Effendi, Colonel Hollowell, Major Wilson, and Captain Hope. His Highness having been acquainted with the dispatches, and heard the reasons urged to strengthen their object, paused a few minutes, and then declared, "that the advice could not be followed, since his army only the day before had shewed strong symptoms of discontent, because they had not been allowed to advance to Cairo; that such a retreat would be utter ruin, for his troops would disband in despondency and disgust; that if the French amounted only in number to the most authentic report of their force, a retrograde movement would be disgraceful to the Ottoman arms, and the co-operation of such feeble allies afterwards
could

could offer no advantage to the English general; that if at last a retreat was compelled by the superiority of the enemy, the disaster could not be aggravated by the delay, since the French dare not pursue far." No persuasion could induce him to strike a tent, or make the smallest preparation for the probable event. He objected that such precautions would create alarm, and the value of his equipage did not counterbalance such an unfavourable prepossession. His resolution was taken, and his reasoning not to be resisted.

As accounts now came that the French had absolutely advanced beyond Elhanka, Tahir Pacha was sent with a considerable corps of cavalry to keep them in check, and harass them during the night: and another corps was also detached into the Desert to watch their movements, and attack them if they attempted to pass by that route. Major Wilson then went back with the Grand Vizir's determination, and arrived in the British camp in the night of the 16th at Algam.

The army had moved forwards on the 14th to Shabour, and Colonel Stuart posted his corps at Kafir Zayad. On their march they had fallen

in with a valuable convoy, which had come from Cairo down the canal of Menouf, by which route they missed General Lagrange's retreating army, and knew nothing of the capture of Rhamanieh.

For two days the Arabs had followed, and kept firing on the French, who with musquetry and some swivels protected themselves. It was this cannonade which gave the first notice of their approach to the British and Turks, and who pressed forwards to ascertain the cause, whilst the army on the left bank for some time attributed it to an attack made on Colonel Stuart's column.

The French, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, seeing the Turks, landed from the boats, and threw themselves into a date wood on the left bank; but the Turks of Colonel Stuart's army obliged by musquetry the Arabs in the boats to bring them over to their side, when they began pillaging them, whilst those of the Captain Pacha's advanced guards shortly afterwards surrounded the wood, and fired into it.

The French made a desperate resistance, until they

they saw some English light dragoons, who under Lieutenant Diggins formed the advanced guard of the English army, approaching, when the officer who commanded the French, and who was wounded, came forwards and said he would surrender, if the English would assure them of protection, which being pledged, they gave themselves up; but some Turks still fired at them whilst marching away. Several of the French before had been killed or wounded; the Turks had also some wounded, amongst which was the commandant of cavalry, a very accomplished man and zealous foldier, who had come with the Captain Pacha, and commanded about a hundred horsemen.

The convoy was very valuable, and must have been, from the nature of its stores, a considerable loss to the enemy. On board were all kinds of clothing, wine, spirits, &c. several heavy guns intended for the defence of Alexandria, and about five thousand pounds in money. The Turks were irritated at so many prisoners having escaped their hands, but they consoled themselves with the dollars, of which they contrived to get the greatest part.

Whilst the prisoners were waiting in the rear

to be embarked for Rofetta, the Captain Pacha passed, and discovering two black girls, companions of the French foldiers, he desired the English officer to deliver them up to him. This Lieutenant Diggins refused; as being placed under his charge as prisoners, he could not dispose of them without an order from the British general. The Captain Pacha was very much irritated, but at length obtained an order to receive them, since the French did not choose to take them to France. They probably were strangled, as connexion with Europeans was always a crime, and with Frenchmen now one of unpardonable heinousness.

On the morning of the 15th the army marched, and encamped between Zowaff and Zaout el Bahar. Colonel Stuart moved to Zara.

On the 16th the army marched to Algam; Colonel Stuart to Nadir. In front of Algam were the ruins of a village, sacked and destroyed by the French, the inhabitants of it having attacked and killed a French general when passing down the Nile; an hostility which no system of terror could, however, influence the Arabs to discontinue.

On the 17th some Arabs came in to report, that a considerable body of the French were advancing to the spot where the boats of the Captain Pacha were lying, about a league in the rear of the English head quarters, not having been able, on account of the little wind the day before, to beat up farther, and the Captain Pacha sent courier after courier with the same intelligence. The commandant of the French convoy, who had encamped the same night within four miles of the Captain Pacha, as soon as he perceived the boats, suspected that the army must be near, and retired into the Desert.

General Doyle, who had zealously urged and volunteered to pursue the convoy, was ordered to take out the 12th and a detachment of the 26th dragoons, amounting to 250 men; two field-pieces and his brigade of infantry was directed to follow him, whilst General Craddock, with a brigade, moved along the banks of the Nile.

Colonel Abercromby and Major Wilson galloped on to find the enemy's column, which was not then perceptible, attended only by the wild Arabs, who flocked from all parts of the Desert.

When they had gone about seven miles, they came up with the convoy, and reconnoitring it attempted to make the Arabs attack their front and right flank, whilst Lieutenant Sutton of the Minorca regiment, and aid de camp to General Doyle, who then also arrived, used his utmost exertions to effect the same service; but the French tirailleurs kept them completely at a distance. At length Major Wilson proposed to Colonel Abercromby that he might be allowed to offer the commandant of the convoy a capitulation, since the stratagem might succeed, and at all events the delay of the negociation would give time for the arrival of the infantry. Colonel Abercromby consented, and Major Wilson, after some delay for an handkerchief, during which time General Doyle arrived with the cavalry, and approved of the measure, rode up with a white handkerchief on his sword, and approaching within twenty yards, demanded to speak with the commandant. Colonel Cavalier came forwards, and asked him what he required. He answered, that "he was sent by the Commander in Chief to offer, before circumstances might render his submission useless, terms for the surrender of his convoy, which were, that the troops should lay down their arms, and be sent directly to France." Colonel Cavalier vio-

lently

lently cried out to him to retire instantly, for he scarcely knew whether he ought not to order his people to fire. Major Wilson answered, that it was the humanity of the general which induced him to offer these terms, and reminded Colonel Cavalier of the responsibility which now attached to him, and the sacrifice he was about to make. To this Colonel Cavalier seemed to pay no attention, and Major Wilson was proceeding towards General Doyle, when an aid de camp from the French galloped after Major Wilson, and required him to return to Colonel Cavalier, who asked for the proposed conditions to be repeated, and then requested that he would wait the event of a consultation with his officers. An evident sensation of joy was perceptible in the troops, and their actions betrayed their inclinations; but the manner in which they were drawn up, presented a formidable resistance; a corps of infantry formed the front and rear line, whilst three divisions of the dromedary corps and heavy dragoons *en echelon* protected the flanks; in front of the right was a piece of cannon, and in the centre of the square were the baggage camels. Colonel Cavalier suddenly came back, and said, "that it was the definitive resolve of his officers, that they could only agree to the surrender of their camels and horses, but that the troops must

be sent into Cairo free." Major Wilfon replied, that he lamented this determination, which he must consider as a positive refusal, since plunder was not the object of the English General, but the capture or destruction of this corps of troops, therefore such terms it would be an insult to offer him. The Arabs began now to press on, and the uneasiness of the column became more and more apparent. At last Colonel Cavalier declared, " that if he might lay down his arms at head-quarters, instead of in the Desert before the Bedouins; if the officers might retain their private property, and the men be sent directly to France, and on their arriving there be no longer considered as prisoners of war; if an officer might be sent to Cairo for the security of their baggage left in depôt there, and Major Wilfon remain as a hostage for their safe conduct to the British camp, he would agree to such terms." As these conditions all conformed with the instructions of General Hutchinson from government, and such had been offered to General Menou, Major Wilfon accepted them, and was proceeding to General Doyle for his sanction, when General Hutchinson arriving in person, ratified them. The Arabs, some of whom had followed from the moment the convoy had left Alexandria, were thunderstruck at seeing the enemy

enemy

enemy thus quietly submit, and the event will remain recorded in their tribes for generations.

The convoy marched, escorted by the dragoons, and latterly by the infantry column, which it picked up about a league near Algam, and proceeded to a field close to head-quarters, where the French troops grounded their arms. They were composed of five hundred and sixty-nine men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, including one hundred and twenty of the dromedary corps, which were the picked men of the army, and who excited universal admiration as well as surprise; one four pounder, five hundred and fifty camels, with their Arab drivers, became the property of the English.

This was the first time Europeans in the Desert of Lybia, since the arrival of the French, experienced protection from its savage inhabitants; but in the degree they abhorred the French, in so much did the English obtain their friendship. Many of the infantry, overpowered by the heat and march, would have perished but for their assistance; and no instance occurred where they abused the rights of humanity; on the contrary, they conducted in the stragglers the next day, after having afforded every relief in their power.

The

The surrender of this convoy was not only important from the number and quality of the troops taken, but as furnishing the army with such a quantity of camels as to relieve the men from much of their severe duties, and ensure a more certain supply of water.

An enquiry into the causes which operated to produce this surrender, is delicate, and a partial opinion is better not given ; for all the circumstances which induced Colonel Cavalier to the capitulation cannot be known, nor can he be supposed to have been acquainted with the state of the force moving against him.

The British dragoons in fact were without water or a feed of corn ; there were only two hundred and fifty of them, and thus unprovided, to have continued the pursuit half an hour longer, would have been almost insanity. General Doyle, had he overtaken the convoy,* would certainly have attacked, if he had found Colonel Cavalier refuse to surrender, since General Hutchinson had directed the general to try the

* The convoy halted on the approach of Colonel Abercromby, &c. and only attempted to proceed again just before the arrival of the cavalry.

effect of a flag of truce before any act of hostility was committed ; but notwithstanding the gallant efforts he would have made, still the odds were so fearful that no one could presume on his success. The artillery horses were wearied, and the guns could not have proceeded. The column of infantry was not within three miles at the time of the surrender, and never could have come up if the convoy had persevered. The Desert ensured, therefore, a safe retreat, (particularly if the infantry had been mounted on the camels), from whence they might at any time have reached the cultivated country, or even continued on as far as the Pyramids, before they attempted to enter ; they had some provisions, and could not want water, the wells at the lake of Natron, where there are Coptic monasteries, would have yielded a sufficiency ; but then the situation of men is to be considered, who, in the midst of a burning desert, were offered a rescue from a wretched country, which they so long had suffered in, and a return to their native land and families. Human nature was scarcely proof against such temptations, and such weaknesses must be considered with humanity ; nor could Colonel Cavalier alone resist the general inclination. The French troops, after the battle of the 21st, were not very well affected, or in a state of necessary subordination ;

nation; Colonel Cavalier was even heard to request the patience of his people until the terms could be arranged with honour to them; and all the officers afterwards avowed, that when "France" was mentioned by Major Wilson, that word electrified the foldiers, and the sentiments connected with it were not to be repressed.

General Reynier, as usual, inaccurate, represents this convoy as composed of four hundred and fifty men, and attacked by three thousand, still preserving so bold a front as to stipulate for the preservation of its arms to France.

In the evening the French embarked for Rosetta, the officers having received for a hundred camels, which were their own private property, three hundred pounds.

Isaac Bey in the evening came from the Captain Pacha to the general with the important intelligence, that the Grand Vizir had defeated the French, and that the garrison of Fort Lesbé, near Damietta, which had escaped to Bourlos, had also evacuated that fort; the particulars of the Grand Vizir's success were, however, not known till the arrival next day of Major Montefor, who had been present at the affair. It
appeared

appeared that the French, who had attempted to surprize the Turkish camp, had found themselves, on the contrary, attacked on the morning of the 16th by the corps under the command of Tahir Pacha and Mahommed Pacha, who had moved on to his support. The French took post in a wood of date trees, where for three hours they maintained a sharp fire; but on the Grand Vizir's arriving with the main body, General Belliard, for fear of being surrounded, was obliged to move into the plain, and on account of the number of Turkish horsemen concentrate his force, forming two hollow squares of infantry on the wings, with a column of cavalry in the center. Thus he attempted to advance; but wherever he appeared, the Turks opened out, and assembled again on his flanks; and at length, a body of their cavalry striking into the Desert, General Belliard was alarmed lest that detachment might be sent to push into Cairo, a manœuvre which the year before, at the battle of Heliopolis, had succeeded so well; he therefore was compelled to abandon his object, and retreat with precipitation, yet preserving order: but had five hundred Europeans been amongst the pursuers, the French, wearied, dispirited, and suffering with extreme drought, must inevitably have perished. Colonel Holloway and the officers
with

with him did all they could to encourage the Turks, but could not effect all they wished.* General Reynier asserts, that the French cavalry charged and took two pieces of cannon, which is an untruth; and in vain does he attempt to gloss over the affair, which is the most disgraceful of any in the campaign, by calling it a *reconnoissance*; a term which he thought might be applied even to the battle of the 21st of March. With the same accuracy which distinguishes his other observations, he augments the Vizir's army with five hundred English artillery, thus clothing twenty-nine men with five hundred buckram jackets. But his account of the French force is more satisfactory; he states this to have been 4600 infantry, 900 cavalry, and 24 pieces of cannon. Their loss was about three hundred killed and wounded; the Turks had one hundred and fifty, which difference is to be accounted for from the different formation of the two armies.

The affair had lasted seven hours; but although

* Colonel Holloway and all the British officers present very much distinguished themselves by their exertions, and the Vizir was sensible of their merit. Lord Elgin in his dispatch renders them justice. See Appendix.

there was much firing, still the loss as stated was inconsiderable; yet it is not by the number of killed and wounded, that the importance of this battle is to be estimated, but inasmuch as it discomfited the projects of the French, rendered the surprising efforts of their march an useless exertion, elevated the spirit of the Turks, and inspired confidence amongst their friends in Cairo and the country.

The inhabitants saw the French return, baffled and dejected; they beheld the Ottomans pursuing, and their crescent triumphant as far as Heliopolis, where the Grand Vizir, who had conducted himself during the action with great resolution, passed the night in the full pride of victory. Two years had not elapsed, since, on the same ground, he had been defeated, and a fugitive; and now he heard himself stiled a conqueror, a title doubly dear, as the English, who had anticipated his disgrace, must acknowledge his triumph, and the Captain Pacha was outrivalled in glory. Such are the vicissitudes of war, so constantly revolving is the wheel of fortune.

The gain of the battle of Elhanka relieved General Hutchinson from his anxiety, and secured a freedom of operations; but to prevent the
possibi-

possibility of a reverse, he directed Colonel Stuart to place himself under the orders of the Vizir, who had approached the English by moving from his position near Cairo to Benerhassett on the Nile. At the same time patrols were sent out towards Cairo, and Major Birch, with Captain Leighton, officers of the quarter master general's department, went with them to reconnoitre the country.

Colonel Stuart had on the 18th marched to Menough, where the Arnauts quitted his command, and returned to the Captain Pacha's army, the 30th replacing them, with the detachment of the 11th dragoons, not exceeding fifty men, but whom General Reynier increases to six hundred.

Menouf is a wretched place, and has a fort of a miserable construction, which was evacuated; the canal called by this name is a noble work, appearing a large river, and is always full of water, as the Nile flows into it with a fall of ten feet.

On the 21st Colonel Stuart marched to Bir-champ; and on the 23d General Hutchinson, being desirous to hold a conference with the
Grand

Grand Vizir, that the future plan of operations might be arranged, left the camp with the Captain Pacha, and went in his barge by the canal of Menouf.

This day will ever be remarkable to the Egyptian army; a Sirocco wind darkened with a burning mist the atmosphere; the thermometer was at 120 in the shade;* the ground was heated like the floor of a furnace; every thing that was metallic, such as arms, buttons, knives, &c. became burning hot; the poultry, exposed to the air, and several horses and camels died; respiration was difficult, and the lungs were parched with the fiery particles. Had the heat continued forty-eight hours, the effects would have been dreadful; but happily as night drew on, the wind cooled, and at last changed to the north-west.

General Hutchinson did not arrive till the next morning, when he was received with great state on his landing, and introduced to the Grand Vizir, who received him with every token of respect and regard.

* At Balbeis the thermometer was at 130, on the western side of the Nile at 120, at Alexandria 105.

The Captain Pacha was seated on the *faire fo-pha* with the Grand Vizir, who raised him up with much graciousness as he offered to kneel and kiss his garment.

The Grand Vizir is an old man, with a very expressive and engaging countenance, but having only one eye, the other being put out in throwing the *dgiredde* ;* a silvered beard of extraordinary length and beauty, a remarkable cleanliness in person, gave him a majestic and pleasing appearance, whilst the affability and particular elegance of his manners operated irresistibly in his favour ; nor was this impression ever diminished by a more intimate knowledge of his character ; brave, loyal, and humane ; if not endowed with the most splendid talents, he ornamented by his virtues the high dignity he was invested with. The interview was but short, as he presumed, with some reason, that the general was oppressed with the crowd.

The Grand Vizir, reinforced by some troops

* When the Vizir lost his eye, he sent the man who had committed the accident a purse of money, and begged him, for fear that he might be punished, to quit Turkey. An anecdote very honourable to himself, if not to the jurisprudence of his country.

from

from Dgezzar Pacha, who submitted again to the Porte, had on the 25th of February advanced to Gabria, a distance of twelve miles, where, in consequence of the want of camels, sickness, &c. he remained until the 12th of March, when he proceeded, and on the 15th arrived at Gaza, where he halted until the 22d, since the plague raged so violently at El Arish as to reduce a garrison of four thousand men to fifteen hundred in less than a month. The Vizir's army was here formed into three divisions, one being placed under Tahir Pacha, the other under Mahommed Pacha, and himself commanding the third. The united force was about sixteen thousand men.* On the 22d, Tahir Pacha, who had been sent forwards with three thousand men and five guns, arrived at El Arish, and on the 28th the Grand Vizir. On his march, he received accounts of the landing of the British in Egypt, and of the action of the 21st, which intelligence was brought to him by Major Miffett, and announced to the Ottoman army by a discharge of twenty-one guns. On the 2d of April Tahir Pacha ad-

* Colonel Holloway, who had succeeded General Kœhler after his death in December, 1800, had the disposition of the army, being much in the Vizir's confidence. He has since been knighted for his services.

vanced, on the 5th Mahommed Pacha, and on the 20th the Vizir, who arrived at Catich in four days, during which march no water was to be obtained in that part of the Desert, which extends from El Arish to that post.

From thence he sent to summon Fort Lesbè at Damietta, which summons being refused, he afterwards, on the 6th of May, detached Ibrahim Pacha, of Aleppo, with two thousand five hundred men (not six thousand, as General Reynier represents), and five pieces of cannon, to attack Damietta. On the 24th of April he moved to Salahieh, where he arrived on the 27th, which place the French had evacuated on the 9th, without destroying the works, as General Reynier states, but, even on the contrary, leaving all the artillery behind.* In this march is a particular pass, called *Le Pont des Romains*, the Romans having erected the bridge here, which was necessary to pass some very swampy ground, formerly the bed of a small branch of the Nile.

* Only some of the interior works were destroyed, and some guns thrown down a well; others were concealed under sand, but the whole were immediately mounted. Salahieh is a regular work, built by the French, and is a place of strength.

The French had attempted to blow it up, but the ruins made a causeway. On the 30th of April the Vizir sent to summon Cairo, and with the view of renouvoicing its defences, Major Hope of the British artillery, serving with his army, was requested also to accompany the Turks. He was not admitted into the town, but was civilly treated, dining with the French officer at the outward guard. In a few hours they were dismissed with General Belliard's answer, which of course was a refusal to the Grand Vizir's pretensions. On the 7th of May the Vizir advanced to Cozin, eighteen miles from Salahieh, where learning that some discontents had manifested themselves amongst the troops at Balbeis, under Mahommed Pacha, he proceeded there the following morning, accompanied by the Reis Effendi, Lieutenant Colonel Holloway, Major Hope, and a few attendants, when his presence immediately restored order and tranquillity.

The camp at Balbeis had been entrenched, and a redoubt constructed under the direction of Captain Lacy, of the Royal Engineers.

On the 11th of May that part of the Ottoman army and of the military mission left at Cozin, joined the Grand Vizir at Balbeis. This

army, now concentrated, had passed over a space of two hundred and fifty miles, of which one hundred and seventy were Desert.

On the 12th of May the Vizir received the intelligence of the capture of Rhamanieh, and of the forced march which the French were making to Cairo.

On the morning of the 25th Ibrahim Bey came to General Hutchinson, and solicited a private conference, in which, with tears, he described himself as a poor old man, depending on the English solely for protection. This celebrated chief, the rival of Morad, is a short stout man, of a fair complexion, with a quick sparkling eye, but his character does not correspond with this appearance of animation. Possessed of abilities, he wants that energy which is so necessary to support such a situation as he aspired to, and the want of which has so often deprived him of his government, and, in his retreat across the Desert, rendered fatally inactive his talents and courage.*

* Buonaparte acknowledges that his horses were so jaded in the pursuit, that had Ibrahim Bey, recovering from his panic, only appeared to make a stand, the consequences might have been very fatal to him, and that he was totally unequal to a contest.

The

The Grand Vizir's army presented a very different appearance to the Turks under the Captain Pacha. Here were no regularity, no trace of discipline; each corps encamped confusedly around its chieftain; horses and camels crowded all the intervals; tumbrils and cannon lay mixed amongst them, and the whole formed a most disgusting chaos, whilst the dirt and filth of the camp certainly were amply sufficient to generate the plague and every pestilential disease.*

In the evening, when the gale of wind blew up the fine particles of soil, the atmosphere was intolerable, and words fail to give a just description of the wretchedness.

The troops were composed of all nations, and such a rabble was never beheld. There is good ground for asserting that near ten thousand Arabs, after the battle of Elhanka, joined the Grand Vizir, in hopes of the pillage of Cairo. The number of horses was prodigious, as each

* Each tent had a little temple of C—— within a yard of it, and which was formed by a piece of canvas; but as no opening was made in the earth, they were abominable from every reason, yet in this state they were always packed on the camels.

Turkish foldier provided himfelf with one *en route*, and the wretched country was defolated with barbarous violence to afford them forage. The Mamelukes, however to the number of five hundred and fixty, were encamped in a very fuperior manner; their lines were kept clear, and regularity was vifible throughout; their drefs was very rich, their manners accomplifhed, and the general appearance correfponding with expectation.

General Hutchinfon here received the intelligence that the enemy who had retired from the Fort Lefbè, to the number of five hundred men, after effecting their junction with the two hundred at Bourlos, embarked with their artillery in five fmall veffels, four of which were taken, and carried into Aboukir, and that the fifth was probably captured, as fhe was purfued by a Turkish frigate; but General Reynier fates that two ef-caped, “and Brutus is an honourable man.” It is extraordinary that this force, after the retreat of General Lagrange, fould continue on the coaft, fince its longer defence was ufelefs, and the poffibility of the retreat of the corps daily became more precarious. The apparent duty of the commander was to attempt a paffage through the Delta, or to crofs the Nile below Rofetta.

There

There was a probability of success, and the strength of the detachment always insured a capitulation; but General Reynier excuses this by saying that the messenger sent with the order for the retreat never arrived. It is equally singular that the Turks did not prevent the sortie of the garrison of Fort Lesbè, or discover the movement at the time. Their batteries against the fort were to have been opened on the 14th, in the night of which the French retreated, but ignorant of the precise locality, an opinion can only be formed from supposition.

In Damietta were found many dgerms, and in the forts a quantity of artillery and ammunition.

The next day presented a scene of extraordinary interest and amusement to an European. The Grand Vizir gave a tournament at the distance of about two miles from the camp: he was seated under a canopy, with the Captain Pacha, the Reis Effendi, Mahommed Pacha, and four English officers, Mr. Hutchinson, Colonel Cole, Major Wilson, and Captain Proby; Ibrahim Bey and the great officers of state standing. The cavalry, to the number of about three hundred, were drawn out to form three sides of a square.

square. The most expert horsemen then darted out of the ranks successively, throwing the *dgiredde*, whilst from the severity of the bit and brutal use of their shovel stirrup spurs, the blood streamed profusely from the mouths and sides of their horses. When this exercise had lasted about two hours, the Grand Vizir, Captain Pacha, &c. mounted their horses, and moved to review the main army, the attendants shouting the whole way, "*Alla achbar, Alla achbar*, Praise be to God;" but before the cavalcade arrived at the camp, the Grand Vizir seized a *dgiredde*, and, manœuvring his horse with dexterity, threw it at the Reis Effendi. The contest now became general amongst the most exalted personages; Ibrahim Bey rode with much grace; the Reis Effendi and Mahommed Pacha entered the lists, and the Captain Pacha,* with a commanding dignity and admirable skill, manœuvred in the circle; but Solyman Aga, the pride of the Mamelukes, for the beauty of his countenance, the elegance of his manners, his excellence in all the martial exercises, rushing forward with a long

* The Captain Pacha was much distressed to think that the English might be ridiculing; and when the fool appeared he could not help expressing how shocked he was, but excused the whole from the custom of the country.

spear in his hand, excelled beyond competition, and extorted universal admiration. Yet with the ability of the most refined statesman, he seemed to dread his pre-eminence, and, with the cunning of the most artful courtier gratified the vanity of the Vizir.*

In the midst of this singular and already ludicrous scene, rode in a fool mounted on a wretched horse, himself perfectly naked, with a bell round his neck, and straws in his hand; these, as javelins, he directed against the Vizir, and against him alone, as the only object worthy

* The attendants when hit pretended to be hurt, and from repeated blows affected to be unhorsed; but when on the ground, they looked at the British officers, lolling out their tongues as a sign of the quiz they were playing. The *dgiredde* is a stick which is held behind the thigh until the horse is checked up suddenly from full speed, when at the same moment it is darted against the adversary; but it requires a strong arm to give it force, and some dexterity to make it strike with the point. The bit is the most severe which can be made, and a horse is never thrown on his haunches suddenly without the blood flowing from his mouth; the consequence is, that their mouths are so hardened, that in a less severe bit they hang dead upon the hand. The stirrups are exactly similar to the pan of a shovel, the end of which is very sharp, and kept constantly pressing against the horse in his gallop, so that his flanks are not pricked, but absolutely scored.

his

his arms. Nor did this strange scene produce any sensations among the Turks; he was allowed to continue unmolested his attacks, and even from the Vizir himself received a handful of sequins.*

At length the Grand Vizir arrived at his camp, and with seeming pride and approbation, rode along the wretched line drawn out to receive him, for he had not then seen better troops, whilst the Captain Pacha suffered much mortification.

In the evening an Arnaut, who had been guilty of ill-treating a woman, an offence of the highest nature amongst Mahometans, was shot. There was no public ceremony at this execution; a small guard conducted him to a road immediately on the left of the camp, and one of them,

* In Egypt a fool is worshipped as a saint, and at Cairo they have many particular privileges, but the most singular is the superstition which favours them so as to make their children considered the peculiar favourites of heaven; therefore in the public streets the most virtuous women have no scruples to them, and passengers, instead of disturbing, pray over their union. A woman so with child is highly esteemed amongst her own sex; there is therefore some excuse for *playing the fool* in that country.

placing

placing a pistol at the right side of his body, fired, when the man fell dead. He was left three days in the same place, exposed to public view.

General Hutchinson having finally decided on his plans, and obtained a written declaration from the Grand Vizir, that unless his army was allowed to proceed immediately to Cairo, he was assured the troops would disband, left the camp on the 27th with the Captain Pacha, and with much pleasure, for he could not be very comfortable amidst this scene of disorder, and where, as is usual in a Turkish camp, the musquet balls were continually whizzing; but notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Vizir, and the custom even of the English officers attached to the mission,* he always rode out during his stay unaccompanied by any Janissary guard, which was heretofore deemed necessary to protect an European from insult, if not violence, but in the event this confidence much pleased the Turks themselves.

* The British artillery, however, regularly had public prayers every Sunday in the midst of the Turkish camp; and during the whole time of their being attached to that army, were never molested or interrupted in the service.

The extraordinary difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies and stores, added to the certainty of the French fleet's being at sea, destined for Alexandria, a corvette of which had entered on the 19th into that port, and the continued opposition in the army to the movement, the ravages daily made by the dysentery and blindness, the absolute want of money, four months pay being due, rendered it extremely necessary for the Commander in Chief to have additional grounds besides his own opinion to justify his perseverance.

The Captain Pacha now engaged to supply the army with bread, for which purpose ovens were established at Menouf, and likewise agreed to provide a certain proportion of buffaloes, which he obtained from the inhabitants by requisition.*

On the 29th of May, in the evening, a Mameluke came from the Caia Bey, or general of Of-

* Buffalo meat is extremely coarse; it is an animal almost amphibious, for the whole day the buffaloes lie in the water, looking like great porpoises; the natives constantly also tie on their horns the clothes or articles they wish to carry across the Nile, jump on their backs, and use them as ferries.

man Bey, to announce his arrival with the advanced guard at Terrana. Major Wilson was directly sent to congratulate him, and assure him of protection. He found him to be an Æthiopian, of a dark copper colour, with a white stubby beard, extremely ugly, yet with a most penetrating look, very sensible, enquiring, crafty, and suspicious. Osman Bey of course selected an officer of the greatest intelligence, when he committed the lives and fortunes of himself and followers into his hands. An exact Syphax in person, cunning, and intrigue, he became greater from his attachment to his master.

He appointed four o'clock in the morning, and a village in front of their army as the place of rendezvous, from whence he was to proceed to the English general's tent, but anxiously stipulated that the Captain Pacha was not to know of the time of his coming: however, so great was his dread of being betrayed by the Turks, who accompanied Major Wilson, that instead of keeping his appointment, he at three o'clock marched, and, striking into the Desert, came by the rear of the camp, after a considerable detour, to the general's tent, where he was assured by General Hutchinson in person of his protection, and that the Captain Pacha should confirm those stipulations

tions he had in the name of the Grand Signor already pledged.* From thence he went to the Captain Pacha, who received him with apparent pleasure and cordiality. In the evening General Hutchinson's brother, Captains Taylor and Proby, returned with him to the camp of Ofman Bey.

On the 1st of June the army moved forward to Mishlei; Colonel Stuart's corps remained at Birchamps.

The great delay which had retarded the operations for such a time, it is by many believed might have been in some degree avoided; but as a Commander in Chief must conform his movement to that state of preparation, which the various departments of the army, essential for its maintenance and service, will allow of, the absolute occasion of the delay must be sought for in the difficulties which presented themselves to render the efforts of the commissary unequal to

* When he saw Major Wilson in the tent afterwards, he anxiously explained his motive for not keeping his appointment. In the late tumult at Alexandria in the boats he was killed, having defended himself with the utmost desperation, and before he fell being nearly hacked to pieces.

the assurance of a certain supply, when the state of the boccage caused a scarcity in the magazines, the want of camels before the convoy was taken, and the deficiency of stores, &c. from the same reasons, and a wish for General Baird's cooperation, who was daily expected. But that no farther delays might impede the offensive operations, General Lawfon of the artillery, and Captain Brice, who commanded the engineers, were sent back to Rosetta, in order to forward, with every exertion, the heavy artillery, &c. required for the siege of Cairo; and their exertions proved most beneficial to the service, as well as honourable to themselves.

The next evening Mr. Hutchinson, &c. returned from the Mameluke camp, then six miles distant, and spoke in the highest terms of their reception, the order, appearance, and manners, which elevate the Mamelukes so much above the Turks.

The next morning Osman Bey Tambourgi,* attended by seven others, came to visit the gene-

* Tambourgi, so called from having been a drummer. After Morad Bey's death, he assumed the name of Crebir, or chief.

ral, and were highly pleased with his frankness and unequivocal declaration of his sentiments with regard to them. They had been by arrangement, for fear of giving offence, previously with the Captain Pacha, who exerted himself to remove from their minds all apprehension and suspicion.

Osman Bey was a handsome lusty man, of fifty years of age, ornamented with no distinguishing insignia, except a valuable diamond hilted dagger, which belonged to his master, benefactor, and predecessor, Morad. Under his command were eleven Beys; but their united efficient force, not including their numerous followers, did not amount to above twelve hundred men.* These were all richly dressed, well mounted, appointed, and armed. Individually, without doubt, they are superior to any cavalry in the world; but collectively, British dragoons must, from their physical superiority of strength, weight, and velocity, overpower in a charge more than an equal number of them.

The Mamelukes generally are fine men, and

* In Upper Egypt had been left about eight hundred to take care of their farms.

seemed likely to continue so another generation, if judgment might be formed from the beautiful young Georgian boys in their possession. No air of sorrow appeared in any face, except in the countenances of some Frenchmen who had deserted or had been taken, and who were afraid of being exposed to the shame of returning amongst their comrades, after the abuse which they had suffered, and therefore still continued in the service of their unnatural masters.* Still the sentiment of love for their native country was not to be subdued, and they miserably pined in their slavery.

The Beys were men of abilities. Mohammed Elfi, so called from Morad having paid 1100 dollars for him, which is an honourable distinction now attached to his name, and who has since fled into Upper Egypt, was particularly clever. Osman Bardici, afterwards severely wounded, was

* It must be understood that the Mamelukes are all Egyptian and Turks are also; but the former necessarily from their system must be, and when they become princes, they continue from inclination what in their early youth may be considered an involuntary act of submission; however, there is an anecdote of Osman Bey Bardici's resistance to Morad, which must exculpate him from voluntarily encouraging this unnatural vice.

the most active, and Haffan Bey the most endowed with the knowledge of European politics, being an Italian by birth, and having been an hostage for the fealty of Morad Bey to the French, by whom he had also been raised to the dignity of a Bey.

General Hutchinson now saw that two great objects of his march were accomplished; an union with the Turkish army, and the junction of the Mamelukes, who, from their influence secured the country, and left the French destitute of resource. Intelligence having also been received that Colonel Murray had landed at Cossir, with a few hundred men, and that he entertained the momentary expectation of the remainder of the army joining, the General was relieved from the fear of General Belliard's retiring into Upper Egypt, a movement which would have been the most disastrous to the English, as pursuit there was almost impracticable, from the sickly state of the troops.

On the 4th of June the army marched, and took up a position in front and rear of Lochmas. Colonel Stuart the same day crossed the water from Birchamps, and halted on the banks of the Nile. The gun-boats had been sent through the canal

canal of Menouf, as the Nile was too shallow to allow of their proceeding further in the Rosetta branch. Hitherto the Captain Pacha in his vessel, which, in comparison with the size of those used in the Nile, might be called a frigate, had been towed by men through the mud, and forced over banks which no ship of equal burthen had ever passed before. But this trait was consistent with the character of this extraordinary man, as it gave him opportunities to display his power and munificence.

The next day the army advanced to Verdun, about ten miles, and Colonel Stuart moved to *Shubra Shaùbi*, where the Grand Vizir had taken a position, and who received the colonel with every mark of affection, and that distinction which his important and gallant services entitled him to expect.

The sickness of the troops now alarmingly increased, there being at this time one thousand who had returned to Rosetta, or were in two days afterwards in such a state as to render expedient the establishment of an hospital camp on the point of the Delta.

The English army marched again on the 7th,

and encamped beyond El Gatta, at Erhoue,* where the Nile divided into two branches. The Mamelukes here first formed a part of the grand camp, and for the first time pitched tents with any regularity, which the general insisted should be done. On the 9th the army moved to Burtos, and the Vizir to Charlahan. On the 15th the English army advanced to Tinasli, and the Vizir encamped in rear of Bassous.

On June the 15th General Hutchinson sent privately a French Mameluke, who had formerly been a merchant in Egypt, and was then in the service of Osman Bey Bardici, to General Belliard, with a letter, begging of him to consider the dreadful fate to which he exposed the inhabitants of Cairo, by holding out the place, and subjecting it to an assault by the Turks, and at the same time offering him a capitulation on the most honourable terms. The Mameluke was not allowed to enter the town; he was met by a French officer, who carried the letter to General Belliard, and then returned with a positive refusal to enter into any negotiation.

* On this march the Desert, for a considerable part of the way, reached down to the banks of the Nile.

On the 16th the army moved opposite to Shubra, and the British, under Colonel Stuart, advanced beyond the Turks to the canal in front of Shubra. The Vizir's army continued in the rear of Baffous. The Turks, under the Captain Pacha, had this day removed to the right, forming a line with the British, and the Mamelukes occupied the villages of Conlachnar, Bashteel, and Imbaba.* This arrangement did not please the Captain Pacha, who had always encamped with his troops on the banks of the Nile; but he was satisfied, when the necessity of the movement was explained to him. The good of the service was his great object, and to promote that his pride.

It being absolutely necessary (to insure an easy communication between the two armies) that a bridge of boats should be thrown across the Nile, the army had taken post here to cover its erection. No sooner were the tents pitched, and some English officers appeared near Imbaba,

* Imbaba is a village, in front of which Morad Bey was defeated by the French. This affair has been dignified, in order to impress a false consequence, with the name of the battle of the Pyramids, although Imbaba is distant from them seven miles.

who had preceded to reconnoitre, than heavy guns were heard on the left of Cairo, which proved to be a *feu de joie*, as all the batteries in the citadel and entrenched camp successively fired. If the number of cannon awed, the vast extension of the line to be defended by the then estimated strength of the garrison counteracted the impression; and the opinion was universal, that if the object of the enemy was to inspire terror by the display of strength, the effect was diametrically opposite.

A variety of speculations were made on this singular celebration, as any unfortunate disaster, affecting the English before Alexandria, must have been known of course before the garrison of Cairo could have been acquainted with it; but in vain was the wildest guess at the cause of a *feu de joie*, which was ordered "for the capture of Ireland." Ridiculous as this story appears, it is sacredly true, and this conceit has been dignified amongst the French with the justifying term of a *ruse de guerre*.

In the evening intelligence arrived of Admiral Ganteaume's having anchored off Cape Dirne, and of his having put to sea again with unaccountable

countable precipitation and voluntary loss of anchors.

June the 14th an officer was sent with some Mamelukes to patrol to Giza, which he effected, reaching the tree within a quarter of a mile of Morad Bey's house, which formed the defence of the north front. On his return, he reported that the bridge of boats from Old Cairo to Giza might from thence be destroyed, but that the bridge seemed less covered by the town on the other side of Giza. He had wished to have ascertained this, but the Mamelukes refused to go round. About the same time Captain Lutchins of the 11th dragoons, with Captain Brice of the Engineers, passing through the Desert, reached the heights of Mokattan, advancing even as far as the old mosque, immediately above the citadel. The French attempted to cut them off, but did not succeed.

This patrol was very creditable to the party employed, and beneficial from the information it obtained.

In the evening a Maltese deserter came in, and reported that some French troops were going into Upper Egypt for provisions, and that the
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feu de joie was fired for the cause before mentioned, this news having been sent by General Menou, and brought by fifty of the corps of dromedaries, who had come by the Desert, and entered Cairo on the evening of the 12th.

June the 17th the Captain Pacha and General went as far as Dockee to reconnoitre. In the evening a serjeant major of French hussars deserted, and proved a very intelligent man. The prince of Fez also brought some papers, found on an Arab, who was killed in the pursuit, and who was going to Alexandria with a letter from General Belliard, in which he claims a considerable victory at Elhanka, as killing five hundred men, two Beys, and taking four pieces of cannon. Another letter represented, that the *coups de bâton* having been inflicted on the Sheiks of the villages, the contributions would quickly come in. This was written by a general who had commanded in the Delta, and who descanted on the advantages to be derived from this mode of collecting the income tax.

June the 19th orders were issued for the march across the Nile on the next morning: the bridge, composed of sixty dgerms, and about one hundred and eighty yards wide, being completed,
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some of the guns were even passed across, the general having been persuaded from some information that a direct attack on Cairo would hasten its fall rather sooner than by the previous reduction of Giza; but at eight o'clock in the evening counter orders were issued, as General Hutchinson and General Craddock's subsequent opinions coincided, that a total investment was necessary, and the possession of Giza was indispensable, considering that if the army crossed the Nile, and the gates of Giza were left open to the French, a sortie might be made, the garrison escape by the Desert over the plain, or his *tête du pont* attacked during the night, possibly carried, and thus the army be cut off altogether from the left bank; and the French serjeant major's information, whose abilities were very superior to his station, confirmed the general in his resolution.

This change of movement rendered the delay of a day necessary; the Grand Vizir was instantly sent to, and requested to counter-order also his march; but his army would not be disappointed. At day-break they struck their tents, and moved forward in the most tumultuous and disorderly manner to within cannon-shot of Cairo, when they thought proper again to pitch their tents.

By the great exertions of Captain Marley, their position at last became corrected, and even good; for he threw the first line on the canal, which runs between Elwoile and Elmini, in the rear of which latter village Colonel Stuart's brigade was afterwards posted, Tizir Pacha's division was posted at Izawoi, Ibrahim Pacha's at Shubra, and the Vizir's body of troops at Dimiet. Nevertheless, exposed as they were, Colonel Stuart, who had remained according to orders in his post, was obliged to march to their support, and encamped on their right. The next morning, the 21st of June, the English army advanced to within a mile and a half of Giza, encamping in two lines, with their left on Dockee, and the right on Zaneen. The Turks encamped in two lines, threw forward their right to Tahournis, and the Mamelukes were posted in their rear. Some Mamelukes, who had advanced under Ofman Bey Haffan and Mahommed Bey Elfi, attacked the enemy's post of cavalry in front of Giza, and charged it in a very handsome manner, pursuing within one hundred and fifty yards of the works of the place; and although the French fired sharply with their cannon at them, killing and wounding several horses, they retired again in perfect good order.

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This affair, if not brilliant, from the loss of the enemy, four or five only being killed and two taken, still was honourable to the Mamelukes, and assured the English that their reputation was justly earned; and their occupation of Sachatmichle, a village within 300 yards of the works of Giza, immediately afterwards, was an important movement, meriting the highest commendation.

Captain Brice having reported that from a wood in front of this village the attack upon Giza and the bridge should be made, an English officer, with five hundred Arnauts, was at ten o'clock at night detached to occupy it. The silence which they preserved during the march, and regularity with which they took up the several posts allotted them, gave a strong proof of their improved discipline, and how soon good example, with zealous commanders to superintend, may organize even barbarians. The highest praise must be given to Colonel Linderthal, who had been appointed to act as Quarter Master General to the Turks from the first movement at Elhamed. The arrangements he made, the ability he showed on all occasions, and the incessant attention he paid to their improvement, combined with the anxious support of the Captain Pacha, produced

produced this almost incredible change in the wildest of men. His talents, in the Quarter Master General's department are well known, and need not be enlarged on here.

Night and day the greatest exertions were made to drag up the heavy cannon and requisite ammunition, the depôt of which was formed at Talbia. Whilst the arrival of the 42d and 28th regiments from Alexandria, under Gen. Hope,* who had recovered from his wounds, and Brigadier General Oakes, diffused new spirits, General Moore also, to the great joy of the army, reinstated in his health, joined, and his presence alone was esteemed a valuable reinforcement.

The general had intended to change the front of the army, and take up an oblique position, so as to approach with his right nearer the point of attack, when on the 22d of June, in the morning early, a French officer, from Giza, with a flag of truce, was brought in to the general by Captain Taylor. He came from General Belliard, to require that an English officer might be sent to a conference he proposed. The general con-

* General Hope requested to have a brigade, and Colonel Abercrombie succeeded him as adjutant general.

sented,

sent, and sent to know of what rank the officer should be. The answer was returned, that, as the matter to be discussed was of the highest importance, it was requested that a General Officer might be sent. General Hope was therefore named, who met a French colonel of engineers, Touiffard, near Giza, and staid with him a long time.

The next morning, by agreement, General Moran and General Hope met under the trees near Giza. Three tents were pitched for them and their attendants. A guard of honour, composed of grenadiers and cavalry, attended each.

General Belliard had at first proposed, that each party should have an armed escort; but General Hutchinson answered, that between the troops of civilized nations, such a precaution could not be necessary; a reply which handsomely maintained the dignity of his allies. No congress was ever more interesting. Never, in the presence of such an army, composed of the troops of so many nations, on such remarkable ground, on a more important subject, was heretofore a military council held.

General Moran unequivocally declared, that
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the object of his instructions was the evacuation of Cairo, and the return of that garrison to France. To arrange which, General Hope on the part of the English, Isaac Bey on the part of the Captain Pacha, Mahommed Pacha, for the Vizir, and Osman Bey for the Mamelukes, were appointed; and on the part of the French, General Donzelot, and Colonel Tarayre, chef de brigade, were the negociators. Captain Taylor officiated as secretary.

Late in the evening the conferences broke up, when a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours was proclaimed. The reason assigned for so long an armistice was the representation made by General Moran, that General Belliard was obliged to call a council of war, which it was difficult to assemble, from the severity of the duty of the superior officers.

The conferences, notwithstanding, proceeded; on the 24th the line of demarcation was settled, but it required considerable exertion to enforce the preservation of it by the Grand Vizir's army. The French, aware of the difficulty, had stipulated that a British officer should accompany the superior officer of his Highness's army, who might be named to take up the line of out-posts.

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In consequence of this arrangement the Tibbidy Pacha and Major Birch met General Almeyras, who endeavoured to impress on the Turks the necessity of maintaining the boundaries prescribed, by forewarning them of the disagreeable consequences which must ensue from their encroachment on the French line.* The caution, however, did not influence their insubordination, for they had scarcely been posted, before they quitted their stations, and relieved one another at pleasure; indeed eventually some hundreds of the Turks advanced into the suburbs, and close to the walls of Cairo. General Belliard found himself obliged to check this disorder, and therefore sent three Turks, who were found in the French lines, as prisoners to the Grand Vizir, with a letter, in which he assured his Highness "that personal regard for him alone prevented his inflicting that punishment on the delinquents to which their conduct had subjected them." For some days the prisoners were menaced with death: but at last the Grand Vizir forgave an act of licentiousness, which he felt had exposed his army, and himself to considerable mortification, since not only disgrace had been re-

* When the videttes were posted, they required permission to have with them dismounted men to carry their pipes.

flected on them, but from the same cause, Frenchmen, the most hated of all Christians, had gained an opportunity to display generosity, and intercede for the lives of Mussulmen.

On the 26th the definitive articles were agreed to. The French had demanded, in addition to the terms, two millions of livres from the Turks, for the payment of their own debts in Cairo, and as the balance of revenue due to them from Egypt; but this claim General Hope positively refused to discuss, and the Turkish deputies represented, that on the contrary, they must demand from them a greater sum for the ships seized in Alexandria, at the infraction of the convention of El Arish, and for the purses advanced to General Kleber on the faith of that treaty.

Two deserters of the hussars came in during the night. The general represented to them their folly; they refused nevertheless to go back, and afterwards deserted again to the Mamelukes.

On the morning of the 27th the capitulation was signed, but the articles were not published to the English army until a copy, printed and circulated by General Belliard, was obtained from Cairo. An arrangement, not made public, was

was however stipulated, that the French troops, embarked in men of war, were to give up their arms to the custody of the captain during the passage.

The Turks made much opposition to Madame Menou's leaving Egypt; and the general was obliged decidedly to assure them that he would protect her person.

On the 28th of June the fort of Soulkowfshi was taken possession of by the 30th regiment, and the gate of Giza by the grenadiers of the line, and a detachment of the body guards of the Captain Pacha; a compliment paid by General Belliard to him individually, as the French had expressly stipulated, that no Turks were to take possession of the forts.

The same day Colonel Paget was sent as an hostage to the French, and they sent Colonel Langlois to the British camp, an officer of the same rank to the Vizir, and Colonel Touiffard to the Captain Pacha. In the evening Arabs came in to report that sixty of the dromedary corps were passing through the Desert to Cairo.

The capitulation of Cairo crowned the daring

march which General Hutchinson's judgment planned, and resolution persevered in. Its conquest secured Egypt, and, without the most improbable misfortunes, the speedy fall of Alexandria.

The sickly state of the army, the heat of the weather, the fatigue of a siege, which must chiefly have been borne by the British, the advance of the season, when the Nile overflows, were all anxious and serious considerations. Yet although every one rejoiced in the event, opinion was much divided as to the conditions; and the more removed from the participation of these dangers were the arbitrators, the greater naturally were their surprize and resentment at them. The army before Alexandria even began to think that the army of Cairo had unworthily terminated its career; but the demand of the French commissary for seventeen thousand daily rations staggered these opinions; and although they believed the commissariat had required unreasonably, and that the *employés* were very numerous, still they could not but suspect the effective garrison must be very considerable. The only real objections which ought to have been made to the conditions were grounded on the long and dangerous repose to offensive operations,

tions, which the time allowed for the evacuation must occasion; but then the two sieges of Giza and Cairo must be calculated, which in case of resistance would have consumed nearly the same time.

The surrender of the capital of such a colony, where private property was to be respected, certainly required some days before all could be arranged; but the extraordinary term here demanded, excited suspicions that General Beliard's completion of the capitulation would depend on contingencies; and as neither Fort Soulkowfshi nor the gate of Giza were tenable posts, much less commanding forts, in the event of a renewal of hostilities, the caution of the enemy almost amounting to apparent duplicity, might naturally create jealousy. Every one will soon, however, acknowledge that the English had no right from any decided superiority to dictate harder terms.

On the 2d, Colonel Montrefor, an officer who well merited the distinction, was sent with the dispatches to England; and the French officers, who were to go into Alexandria and arrange the embarkation, accompanied him down the Nile.

In the night of the 4th of July, one hundred of the corps of dromedaries, with an aid de camp of General Menou, coming from Alexandria, and passing from the Defert within a few hundred yards of the Turkish camp, entered in at the very gate of Giza which the British occupied, who being only an interior guard, or in fact honorary prisoners, could not attempt to prevent their entrance. The glaring neglect which had allowed a body of the enemy to pass unseen, not only along the front of an army, but between its posts, where a line of communication could with facility, and should have been indisputably established, notwithstanding the capitulation, justly deserved a severe punishment. Yet the humanity of General Hutchinson would not allow him to prefer a complaint to the Captain Pacha, when the consequence would have been the disgrace, if not the loss of the head of a most zealous, brave, and active commander, who assuredly was responsible, but probably not in fact culpable.

Speculation was various as to the contents of those dispatches, which were ascertained to be answers to a letter from General Belliard, sent by a detachment of the dromedary corps the night before the British army moved to invest Giza ;
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their contents are still only to be guessed by events and rumours.

It is however remarkable, that this detachment should have arrived at the Pyramids early on the morning of the 28th, and perceiving the English camp, remained there reconnoitring the whole day, and yet not be discovered; since daily, from the first conference, hundreds of soldiers flocked to and ascended the top of the highest Pyramid, from whence an horizon of twenty miles in circumference, and a level plain, without intermediate swells of soil, was distinctly visible. How their concealment happened, is unaccountable, unless no soldiers went there on that very day, which is equally singular; but every one must agree, that as its success was astonishing, so was the hardihood of the enterprise worthy the greatest commendation, and particularly, as they knew that their discovery by the Turks must inevitably have insured their destruction.

The general now issued orders, thanking the army for that conduct, which had so much distinguished it, and which orders are to be seen at the end of this work. Certainly no troops had ever shewn more resolution, patience, and
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spirit. The duty of the officers and men had been most severe, yet they bore every hardship without a murmur; and although four months in arrears of pay, never were guilty of the smallest excess. Dysentery and blindness had made great ravages amongst them, and they had no shelter from the burning heat of the sun: their tents opposed no resistance to the rays, but rather concentrated their force. Frequently they were obliged to drink only water, and wanting shoes, had to tread on the fiery soil, and on the prickly furzes which covered the surface.

All the departments of the army had exerted the utmost zeal, and that of the quarter master general in particular bore the hardest service. Every day, when the army after its march rested, these officers were obliged to proceed in front, and reconnoitre the next encampment, frequently till night never tasting the smallest refreshment. Colonel Anstruther himself set the example, being always the first man on his horse, and the last to take rest. Captain Marley, as the only officer of that department with Colonel Stuart's column, had very great severity of duty, and as zealously exerted himself; whilst the officers of the army in general were animated by
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the same spirit,* and no one quitted but in a state that would have rendered it certain death to have remained, and many risked too much. This is not fulsome adulation, but truth which should be mentioned by a military narrator.

To relieve the *ennui* which the present indolent state of the army produced, and particularly as no permission was given to enter into Cairo, the Pyramids, distant only about four miles, had become the constant subject of occupation; and the very soldiers in going there, seemed to find a recompence for many of their toils, to exult more in their triumphs, and feel the enjoyment which travellers must experience on attaining the ultimate object of their research; their minds aggrandised with honest pride, and honorable reflections.

The Pyramids, which are consecrated from the most remote antiquity, as forming one of the seven wonders of the world, at a distance impose neither awe nor any idea of stupendous magnifi-

* Lieutenant Ross, of the 79th regiment, having lost his arm in the action of the 21st, refused to go to England, but as soon as he was nearly recovered, joined his regiment again at Rhamanich. Such anecdotes, honourable to the service as well as to the individuals, demand mention.

cence: they are situated on the immediate border of the Desert, which elevates itself like a cliff above the cultivated country; their form, if one of the objects of their construction was to excite surprise at their grandeur and altitude, was the worst which could be conceived, but when arrived at the very base of the great Pyramid, then its wonders require positive vision to credit. The mind is lost in the calculation, and the eye, unaccustomed to such masses, cannot imagine to itself such dimensions. The vastness of the granite blocks, the quantity of labour which must have been employed, the lever which must have been necessary to raise such stupendous masses of rock, its original beauty from the various coloured marbles, porphyry, and granite, with which the sides have been cased, impress with unequalled sentiments of admiration and astonishment.— When, however, reflection directs the thought to the surprising works of genius and learning of those ages in which these were constructed, and contrasts the present abject race of their posterity, the mind cannot but lament the degradation of such a portion of human nature, and consider the Pyramids as a monument for melancholy instruction.

The height of the large Pyramid is at last definitively

nitively afcertaincd by the French to be fix hundred feet, the length of its bafe feven hundred feet. The quantity of cubic feet of folid ftone is by them eftimated to contain a fufficiency for the building of a wall of four hundred and fifty miles in extent, three feet in height, and five inches in thicknefs. Near the top, part of the cafe ftill remains, on which are fupposed to be hieroglyphics; its pinnacle is about thirty yards fquare, on which the French Savants once dined, and which was now constantly crowded with Englifh. The names of Bruce,* of Algernon Sydney, Volney, and feveral others, were carved on the ftones; and it does them no fmall credit to have ventured as folitary travellers to the top of this gloomy pile. The view from hence is frightfully barren; an immeafurable wafte of Defert is only interrupted by the narrow flat of cultivated land which feparates the Deferts of Lybia and Arabia, nor can that arid foil, and the wretched villages in the valley, afford any fcene picturefque or gratifying. The eye can only reft with any pleafure on the waters of the

* For the honour of Bruce it fhould be told, that every circumftance tends to corroborate his veracity. The French made many enquiries, and unite in teftifying to his reputation; and many of the Abyftinians, who came with the caravans, remembered them in the country.

Nile, the island of Rhoda, and some fine orange trees in the neighbourhood of Giza. These only can refresh the aching sight; and yet this view has so fascinated, as to make Savary believe that the poets from hence must have formed their ideas of Elysium,* and so enraptured him as to excite his regrets that he could not remain during life in this garden of bliss. But Savary has proved himself a bad judge of the beautiful in country and women; his paradise placed in Europe would be deserted like a wilderness, and his houri's become antiquated virgins.

The ascent to the top is very difficult, and requires resolution and strength; each stone is at least four feet high, and the only steps are made by each superior one receding to form the pyramid, about three feet. The descent is more unpleasant, yet the soldiers went up and down, without any accident, perpetually. At the base of the north front is a door, over which are many hieroglyphics. This, Strabo assures us, was ori-

* Several great canals, which separated Memphis from the Pyramids of Sacarah, did furnish the Greeks with the idea of their infernal rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, and Lethe; but it required Savary's imagination to place the Elysian fields here on account of the beauty of the scenery.

ginally half way up the Pyramid, and that the drifting sand has covered the base so high. This story would be absurd to credit, if only subject to the observation that such a quantity of drifting sand must necessarily encroach on the cultivated country also, which it has not done evidently; but now the French, by digging at the four corners, have ascertained the base, and found that no such alteration has taken place, since it is erected on solid rock, and from the excavations around, there is evident proof that the bodies of the pyramids are constructed of this rock; the huge masses of porphyry and granite used to case them were brought from the neighbourhood of Cossir, on the Red Sea. By the door at the north front is the entrance into the interior of the pyramid, into the sanctum of the wonder of the world. The passage at first is very narrow and low, then afterwards enlarges. At the extremity of one branch is a well, the depth of which was never ascertained. Another passage communicates to several chambers, in the largest of which is a stone coffin; the lid is taken away, and several attempts have been made to break the sarcophagus, fortunately the hardness of the stone resisted the gothic violence. The Arabs pretend, that the corpse of a man, with his sword and some golden ornaments, were found at
the

the first opening of the coffin ; but these traditions are too vague to collect any positive information from. The only certain fact seems to be, that therein reposed the corpse of that prince, for whose memory this stupendous structure was erected.

There are two other very large pyramids, one of which Morad Bey attempted to open ; many stones were dug out, when the labour was found so hydra-headed, that avarice was obliged to abandon the design, and thus this uncompleted work of destruction remains as a monument for the preservation of the rest. There are the ruins of about thirteen smaller ones, numerous catacombs in the rocks, in many of which the colours of the bas relief on the walls are preserved perfectly fresh. From these circumstances, the corresponding Pyramids of Sacarah, and the plain of Mummies, no doubt can remain of these gigantic piles having been intended to inclose the bodies, and perpetuate the fame of princes, who hoped in such mighty characters to have their renown recorded for ever, but whose ashes are dispersed like those of their meaner subjects, and of whose name history retains no trace. Ambition may hence receive instruction, and mortified pride consolation.

Sixty yards to the right of the great Pyramid from the eastward front, and facing Cairo, is the celebrated Sphynx. This enormous figure is carved out of one stone, and the French have uncovered more of the form than had been seen for centuries: the expression of the face is feminine and Nubian, but all her features have been mutilated by barbarous fanatics; the feet are not visible, she has no breasts, and the rock seems only to have been cut out so as to mark the back of a lion, which representation is said to signify that the Nile increases when the sun passes from Leo into Virgo. The height is twenty-six feet, the circumference of the head is twelve feet, the length of the back is not exactly ascertained, but from what can be seen is probably sixty feet: the top of the head being hollowed out, favours the supposition that the priests, concealing themselves there, delivered those oracles, which the miserable rabble believed proceeded from the God direct. Others have conjectured, that there was a subterraneous communication between this and the Pyramids, which idea is proved to be erroneous, as the neck is found to be solid. The sphynx certainly has been hewn out of the solid rock, on which the figure seems now to recline. The learned Mr. Bryant has therefore proved perfectly correct in his hypothesis respecting its formation.

To the north-east, in the plain of the cultivated country, and about a mile from the Pyramids, are seen two bridges of Saracen architecture; for what purpose these were constructed cannot be discovered, as they afford at present no advantage of communication at any season of the year; one bridge is considerably larger than the other, and the arches of both are numerous.

About thirteen miles distant are seen the Pyramids of Sacarah, which are not so large as those of Giza; under them are the celebrated Mummy Pits, which extend several leagues, tradition affirms as far as the great Pyramids of Giza.

The operation of descending into these pits is extremely disagreeable. Bedouin Arabs are the conductors, who bring the adventurers to some holes, down which they sling themselves by a rope about thirty yards, whilst the loose stones tumbling from above inflict the severest injuries; on reaching the bottom, they are shewn an opening like an oven, to get into which they are obliged to fall flat on their faces, and creep in that manner, or rather shove themselves backwards, their legs necessarily going first, for fear of suffocation, for twenty yards, over rubbish and ruins, in total darkness.

The

The height of the passage does not really admit of the smallest bend in the person to assist the progress; when this uncomfortable avenue is passed, the catacombs or vaults allow of a man's standing upright.

In the bird-pits millions of earthen pots lie, in which the sacred birds of Egypt, particularly the Ibis, are enclosed, and occasionally the bones of animals are found; these pots are closed by a strong cement, which no air can penetrate; when broken, there drops out what is apparently a lump of burnt cinders, which proves to be the cloth in which the bodies were preserved.* In almost all, the string which bound them remains perfect, and their feathers are preserved with their very shades of colour.

The mummy pits, where human bodies are deposited, have been much ransacked by the French, at least that part which was open to their researches; still several whole bodies are found even now, without penetrating far, and two or three perfect mummies have been brought to England. Indeed the Arabs, for four sequins,

* One of them is to be seen in the European Museum, King Street, St. James's Square.

would always engage to find and bring one into Cairo.

The curiosity of travellers is a considerable profit to them, and they are incessantly employed in collecting numerous little idols and broken fragments of statues and sculpture, which are found in immense quantities. A party of officers who had been in the pits, and shewn much anxiety in their search for mummies, were surpris'd whilst sitting in the Sheik's house of the village called Menf, and which is within two hundred yards of the catacombs, to see, during the repast they were making, some Arabs bring in a basket with great eagerness. The officers naturally supposed that they were about to produce some acceptable increase of provisions, when, on laying down the basket, they were presented with the sight of four human heads, three of which retained their eyes, and each a perfect set of teeth, three arms with hands, two legs with feet attached, one foot separate, and on all of which the nails were perfect, and sinews distinct. The Arabs had collected them with much zeal, in the anticipation of reward, supposing that the English would purchase at any rate such precious antiquities; an Italian servant did give a tolerable consideration for the remains, calculating,
that

that on his return to his own country, he should at least obtain for them their weight in gold.

In the wretched hovel where this singular market was established, lay on the floor a flat stone, of three feet in length, and two in breadth, on which were sculptured fourteen or fifteen figures of women, apparently dancing, with a great many lines of hieroglyphics inscribed above and beneath them.

The natives could not restrain their smile of conceit on seeing the English regard a stone with such serious attention, and as a Mameluke explained, laughed heartily at some good jokes amongst themselves about Christian ignorance.

Mr. Hammer, foreign secretary to Sir Sydney Smith, a gentleman whose services are most gratefully acknowledged by that officer, and whose perfect Arabic knowledge enabled him to prosecute the most interesting researches, afterwards removed this very stone, and sent it to Vienna.

Between the pyramids of Sacarah and of Giza is supposed to have been situated the celebrated city of Memphis, and that the plain of mummies was the burying ground. Historians

have never agreed, however, as to its positive situation; but the French, working in some ruins, found the hand of the colossal statue of Vulcan, which originally stood in Memphis, and which may be deemed good circumstantial evidence of the site being about that spot. This hand was taken from the French at Alexandria, and will be lodged with the other antiquities, manuscripts, and valuable trophies brought from thence, in the British Museum; when the public may hope to receive an accurate account of the whole from Colonel Turner, of the Guards, whose learning and particular attention to this branch of science justly selected him as the proper person to have charge of, and add to the collection of those valuable monuments.

On the 1st of July a deputation of the Christians came from Cairo to the general, who assured them of every protection; and Osman Bey Bardici received final instructions to meet and aid the Indian army, ordered to move down the Nile from Cunei.

On the 6th the Grand Vizir came to review the army, and the same day General Kleber's coffin was removed from Fort Ibrahim Bey, where it had been deposited, the French army
having

having resolved to carry with them his remains to France.

The Vizir arrived at the instant the French commenced firing their minute guns, which the English artillery were directed to answer.

The circumstance of the moment rendered this scene, in itself impressive, particularly interesting; but the assassination of General Kleber is a mystery which time, perhaps, may never unravel.

The Grand Vizir was delighted at the appearance of the English troops, who, notwithstanding their rags, formed a very martial parade. The Scotch regiments, from being *sans culottes*, particularly excited his wonder.

The Captain Pacha then shewed his army with no small consciousness of triumph, and the regularity of the encampment so pleased the Vizir, that he requested officers of the quarter master general's department might be sent to arrange his in the same way: his Highness's troops, however, disapproved of the alteration, and on the morning the movement was to be made, fired the usual signal, a few musquet shots through his

tent, which hint was understood, and complied with immediately.

On his return he played the dgiredde, and the same puerility, as before described, was practised by his whole suite. The attendants affected to receive from his javelins repeated wounds, screamed in agony, fell from their horses, and expired with all the mummery of a death scene in a Punch farce.

Whilst the British camp displayed this festivity, the French lines presented a gloomy scene of mourning; for as at the obsequies of General Kleber, real sorrow again agitated every heart. It was not the muffled beat, the trappings of ceremony, the imposing stillness of parade, but the silent manliness of unaffected grief, which diffused the mournful solemnity. Every soldier as the coffin passed, felt that therein their benefactor's, a father's bones reposed; a leader, whose intrepidity had been their admiration and example; whose talents had often secured them the victory, and who, in the hour of distress never abandoned them; the man who, when Buona-parté deserted them, cheered their desponding spirits by his paternal exhortations, and whose exertions were constantly devoted to their welfare.

fare. They dwelt on his merits, they reflected on his fate, and Kleber became deified and adored. Had Buonaparte witnessed this scene, he would have himself regretted perhaps the exclamation which he made with indignant pride, when Kleber, wishing to heal up some differences which had existed between them, began his letter with the fraternal term of "*Camarade.*"—" *Camarade ! Camarade ! Qu'est ce qu'il y a de commun entre Kleber et moi ?*" *

Fortunate was it for Buonaparte that the hand of an assassin deprived Kleber of life ; his word was passed, his resolution fixed to take ample vengeance ; nor did personal resentment only urge him. The public wrong he had also pledged himself to redress ; neither would the aggrandisement of his rival have humiliated him by servile obsequiousness and dereliction from his oath. †

As

* It is difficult to give in English the full force of this contemptuous sentence, allusive to inferiority of qualities, not of rank ; but it signifies, " What pretensions of any nature can authorise Kleber to address me as an equal ?"

† Kleber was a German ; and it is remarkable that most of the best officers who have served in France during this war, have been foreigners. The great, the estimable General Moreau, must, however, be put in competition with any of them ;

As an officer, Kleber must rank among the first; as a man, he was equally estimable, and the trait of regard for discipline he displayed (when Buonaparte, rifling the military chest, leaving only a few parats or farthings which by accident adhered, quitted the army without any previous communication, stripped Alexandria of artillery, and subjected him to all the evils which penury, discontent, and weakness could expose a commander to), must ever obtain an universal applause.

Still faithful to his duty, and the service he was engaged in, Kleber made no public complaint or appeal; on the contrary, he even framed an apology for the man who had so injured him, by which generous conduct subordination was preserved, and the rising spirit of mutiny subdued;* a noble sacrifice, which exposed himself

and General Pichegru, who in no quality is inferior to his rival, unfortunately we cannot say, friend.

Buonaparte is said to have taken great offence at an observation of Kleber's, relative to the siege of Acre, who said on that event, " We see it is defended by Europeans, and we have attacked it *à la Turque*."

* The garrison in Alexandria had even seized on the shipping, and the army insisted on the evacuation of Egypt.

to the odium of being thought a friend to the enemy of the army, for so Buonaparte was then deemed, and which imputation, if General Kleber's virtues had not been his safeguard, would have produced the most fatal consequences.

Several English officers had been present at the procession, and witnessed the tears of affection which flowed from the eyes of the soldiery;* nor is his name now ever mentioned amongst them without exciting feelings of regret, admiration, and gratitude; at that time it was always accompanied by the vow of devotion to his cause.

The skeleton of the assassin was also conveyed to France. This wretched being had been impaled alive, and lived in that state for three days; neither in the cutting off his hand, nor the dreadful operation which humanity and manhood revolt at, did he betray the least fear; his only cry was for water, and occasionally a curse against those who had betrayed him with the hopes of pardon, into confession.

* At dinner, even the day before also, when the conversation turned on Kleber's conduct, the tears started in the eyes of every one present at General Belliard's table, and his memory was talked of with enthusiasm.

During

During the night of the 10th the French evacuated Cairo, and sent notice of their intention to Colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been previously made, that when Cairo was taken possession of, which was not expected before the morning of the 11th, a detachment of the Captain Pacha's body guard should enter also; but as this early evacuation was not known till very late at night, the quarter master general, who happened to be on the eastern side, on the emergency of the moment directed the 89th to march directly, and occupy the citadel.

Colonel Stuart found the city abandoned, but could not gain entrance into the citadel before three o'clock in the morning, the gates being closed, and no one left to open them.

A French officer, soon after sun-rise, who had accidentally remained behind, came to Colonel Stuart, and was recommended by him to stay until he could be escorted to his own army; declining that protection, he went alone into the town, where the inhabitants in a few moments surrounded and fired at him, then stripped him naked, and at last put an end to his existence and sufferings with large stones. So anxious had every person been to assist in this massacre, that

that fuch a pile was heaped over him as almoft totally to conceal his limbs.

The Captain Pacha in the morning, finding the Englifh already in poffeffion of the citadel, was extremely angry: he came foon after day-break to the general, complained of being deceived, and treated with indignity, and he could fcarcely be pacified by the representation of the circumftances: indeed, he had fome excufe for being fufpicious of this repeated combination of accidents againft his confequence. Quitting with fome repentment the Englifh head quarters, he infantly afterwards paffed over with his body guard to Boulac, and from thence proceeded to the citadel, where fortunately the Britifh flag had not been hoifted, and which was now raifed up under the Turkish, a compliment highly gratifying to the Ottomans.

The Captain Pacha's troops had preferved the ftricteft order, and the anxious inhabitants began to indulge in hopes, when the entry of the Grand Vizir's army renewed their apprehenfions; for they came *en maffe*, shouting and firing off their mufquets in the ftreets, with every fymptom of the moft licentious diforganization. However to the credit of the Vizir, who found
means

means to control their mischievous inclinations, independently of one or two Christian merchants being obliged to ransom themselves, and a French lady's house being pillaged, no act of violence was perpetrated. There is a suspicion, however, that the Turkish soldiers individually taking advantage of the panic of the inhabitants, and augmenting the fears of an intended general sacking of the city by the main army, persuaded the shopkeepers that they would protect them in that dreadful moment, but stipulated that in the interim they must be considered as partners in their trade, and receive every night a moiety of the day's profits. Certainly the universal appearance of a Janissary seated on the shopboard of each house, earnestly welcoming customers, was strong presumptive, if not positive evidence, of the fact being as represented.

At the house of Rosetti, the Imperial Consul, were assembled all the women of the Franks, about seventy in number, who had fled thither as to an asylum, where in the event of the quarter of the Franks being sacked, they might find protection from respect to the Imperial arms. Their beauty did not correspond with those hopes the report of such an assemblage naturally inspired,

inspired, and the ladies of Europe retained the influence of their attractions.

The inspection of Grand Cairo was no less big with disappointment. The French had anticipated on their arrival the sight of magnificent buildings, grand squares, sumptuous decorations, a general appearance of wealth, and riches, of commerce, the enjoyment of every luxury in all the profusion of eastern splendour, in short, a capital where their recreations would amply compensate them for the misery they had suffered on their route thither. This city they fondly fancied to have been the emporium, which was the object of the expedition, and the reward of France to them for their services in Europe. Great therefore was their disappointment, when they saw none of these expectations realized, but, on the contrary, the desperate certainty that they were involved in a wretchedness, from which they could not escape.

The English, instructed by their error, expected little, yet did not reduce their ideas low enough.

The town of Boulac, which is the great suburb of Cairo, was one heap of ruins, having been
destroyed

destroyed by the French during the siege in the insurrection in the year 1799. A few wretched hovels, and two or three barracks, were the only remaining buildings of this once large and populous fauxbourg.

The city of Cairo itself is also very much flattered at the different entrances; the streets are about two yards wide, the houses very high, and built of brick, like those of Rosetta.

The palaces of the Beys are large; two or three of them are very fine buildings; particularly Cassan Bey's, where the Institute was held, and the house in Place Bequier, in which Kleber lived, and in the garden of which he was murdered.*

Place Bequier is a large open square, where most of the Beys resided; but many of their houses have been destroyed by the French; indeed, one whole side is in ruins. This place has, however, been otherwise improved by them, trees being planted on each side of the roads, which

* He was stabbed whilst walking on a terrace, and several drops of his blood still mark the railing against which he staggered.

cross the square at right angles, and fosses having been dug to retain the water, with the view of checking the dreadful quantity of dust which flies from the sand and ruins always in the evening.

To conceive the true nature of this insufferable nuisance, the whirlwind of other countries must be imagined as occurring every evening, and filling the whole atmosphere of Egypt with burning dust, and the light particles of rubbish. Thus the only part of the day which is tolerable from the diminution of heat cannot be taken advantage of as the opportunity for exercise.*

The French had intended to have opened the streets of Cairo, and formed through Place Bequier a magnificent road from the citadel to Giza; but the distraction of the times did not allow of these improvements being attended to, and thus the city bears irretrievable monuments of their ravages, with very few indeed of their benefits. The bairas or exchanges, which the

* Independent of this general state of the atmosphere, large pillars of dust and wind are always visible. Sometimes in the circle of the horizon twenty are to be seen, and scarcely ever fewer than four or five. Their force is very great, and the tents were instantly blown into the air by them.

merchants occupy, are large square buildings, divided into little shops, in which the treasures of the caravans were deposited. Since the arrival of the French none had come from Arabia, and even an unwashed shawl was not to be bought.

The citadel, in which the Pacha was always kept as a kind of state prisoner, is a miserable paltry castle, and the avenue of houses leading to it is horrible. In the citadel is the celebrated well called Joseph's, being dug in the time of a Vizir bearing that name. It is excavated in the rock, is two hundred and eighty feet deep, and forty-two in circumference. Winding stairs lead gradually to the bottom, and some way down, oxen are employed in turning the wheels to raise the water, which is very brackish.

In the quarter of the Franks are two monasteries, which are kept in very good order. The Monks were extremely hospitable, but the French almost reduced them to absolute want, and robbed their churches as well as their apartments of every thing which could be converted into money. By their necessities or avaricious pillage, the French had always in Egypt so vexed the people, that neither Turks, Copts, Arabs, or even Franks, were friendly to them. The latter had

had peculiarly suffered from fines and imprisonments: indeed so much, that they preferred the government of the Mamelukes, for each merchant had then his patron Bey, whom he served, and charged against him again in goods those losses power had extorted from him: thus a reciprocal interest and understanding were established between them, by which the person of the merchant was protected*, whilst the Beys, never thinking beyond their own immediate wants, considered them as a kind of banker, whom they might command at any time, and repay with the exactions levied on others: an exchange the

* Travellers have described with much indignation the treatment which the Franks experienced, and particularly mentioned the indignity of their being obliged in Cairo to ride on jack-asses: but the fact is, that the Mamelukes wishing to keep the good horses to themselves, made this regulation: nor is it at all severe, since this animal, so much despised in Europe, is in Egypt beautiful, with very good paces. Their mules are also excellent, indeed both so good that to ride about a town every one would prefer them. The wives of the Beys even ride on them. To pass the Desert, dromedaries are used: and to travel to Rosetta, the Nile is the most agreeable passage. It was, however, rather a ludicrous scene, to see the British infantry officers riding on jack-asses, and every one kept his Dapple, since an order was issued by the Commander in Chief against the purchase of horses, except for the cavalry and the general service.

Franks knew how to convert into their own favour: on the contrary, during the French government, enormous impositions were laid on them; they were repeatedly sent as hostages to the citadel, and instead of obtaining the consequence they expected, were reduced to poverty, and treated with insult.

The circumference of the city of Cairo, including the suburb of Boulac, is six miles; and yet this place, till lately, was considered in the east, and partially through Europe, as the largest capital in the world.

The people were excessively dirty, mostly affected in their eyes; and swarms of beggars, distorted, or unnatural formed wretches, crowded the streets*. The manners and customs of the inhabitants are so well delineated in the Arabian

* There were two very remarkable cases, one was of a man who apparently had no body; and the other of one who had a belly hanging down from his navel to his ancles; a blue skin contained his bowels, but which seemed so thin as to be liable every moment to burst. The weight was enormous, and its size appeared much larger than an ox's paunch. The unfortunate wretch was otherwise in good health, and crawled about, gaining his bread by begging.

Nights Entertainments*, that every one has been agreeably made acquainted with them.

The military position of Cairo is not good; its citadel is commanded by the heights of Mokattam, which are perpendicularly elevated about a stone's throw from the works, and completely look into every battery, so that musquetry could play on any part. But to plant cannon on these heights would have been extremely difficult. The detour was very considerable to reach them, yet necessary, in order to avoid the forts, whilst the immense chasms and ravines in this part of the Desert, to go round which there was scarcely a camel's track, rendered any attempt

* It may afford some pleasure to many readers, and particularly the female part, for it is presumed they will honour this work by a perusal, to know that Mr. Hammer, in Cairo, procured a complete edition of the Arabian Nights Entertainments in Arabic manuscript, containing many more stories than have as yet been published, and which he means to translate.

Since the first edition, I have ascertained that Mr. Clarke had the fortune to discover this work, the only perfect and complete one extant in the world, and which Mr. Clarke has given to Jesus College, Cambridge. It is in four large volumes quarto, and contains 172 tales, which are divided into one thousand and one nights.

to bring heavy artillery almost impossible; and as the number of troops to maintain the post must have been proportioned to the strength of the garrison, the great want of water would have rendered its occupation nearly impracticable; yet if these obstacles could have been surmounted, the citadel was so weak, that a very slight battery would have crumbled the whole into dust.

The French, for the further defence of the town, constructed on the high hills of rubbish, which laid on the north and east fronts of it, small square stone towers, at such distances as to flank each other, and the line of each front was commanded by a principal fort, that to the north was called Fort Camin, that on the east Fort Dupuis.

All of these towers were bomb proof, a deep ditch surrounded them, and a gun from the upper story was worked out of a covered embrasure*. Each was provided with a cistern; the

* Each tower was intended to be manned with fifteen men; it was such a tower as those which at Corfica resisted for three days several men of war, one of which was set on fire, and another dismasted; nor was it taken until a landing was made by some troops.

door was in the centre, and a moveable ladder the means of ascent: so fortified, they defied assault, and would have required the battering of heavy artillery, when they might have still resisted four or five days; but nevertheless, as they could be passed in an assault by night, they were to be considered rather as a strong chain of works to an entrenched camp, than the defences of a fortified city.

Behind these was a line of entrenchments, in front of which was dug a very deep ditch, and the walls of Cairo formed the last line of defence.

The southern front was protected by an aqueduct (with the cavity of the arches built up), extending from the citadel to a large building, on the banks of the Nile, and in which were the works to throw up the water into the aqueduct. This building was converted into a fort by the French. In front were several small detached forts, and the remains of Old Cairo*, which

* In Old Cairo, except the granaries of the Patriarch Joseph, which are only large pieces of ground enclosed by walls, and divided into compartments, there is nothing remarkable.

which place was not fortified except by a few batteries on the bank of the Nile, open in the gorge, consequently not to be defended against an army which had crossed the river higher.

Fort Ibrahim Bey and Fort L'Institute formed the second line. This was the weakest side in regard of fortification, but strong from position, as the Nile was to be passed, and the front was very contracted.

The western side is defended by the Nile and the island of Rhoda, on which were several heavy batteries, particularly at the northern point. At the dry season of the year, the interior channel, which runs by the farm of Ibrahim

The greater part of the place is in ruins. Here the Greek Patriarch resided, and who was a very fine venerable old man. Babylon, founded by Cambyfes, stood on the site of this city; a quarter of the town called Baboul, marks now its position. A large canal, supposed by some to have been constructed in the time of Adrian, and by others in the reign of one of the Pharaohs, commences a little above Old Cairo, and crosses the middle of the new town from the west to the north-east, but forms no defence; as it is only filled with water during the months of August, September, and October. A splendid ceremony takes place when the water of the Nile is let into this canal.

Bey,

Bey, is fordable in several places, so that the Nile must be considered then as the only river to be forced.

The island of Rhoda is the prettiest spot in Egypt; very fine sycamore trees grow along its banks, affording the most gratifying shade, yet do not prove a sufficient barrier to the whirlwinds and clouds of dust, which, although having to pass the Nile, are still here intolerable. On this island is the celebrated Mekias, by which the height of the Nile is ascertained: a redoubt, with six pieces of cannon, served as the *tête du pont* to the bridge, which connects Giza. Giza is a dirty village, which the French have improved by building half a dozen houses, and establishing in it their manufactories of arms, shot, &c. The chief ornament of the place is a palace of Morad Bey's, much in ruins; and an excellent coffee-house kept by a Frenchman, who remained behind, was acknowledged to be its most agreeable embellishment.

The works of Giza are very contemptible; a wall surrounds the whole, except on the northern front, where Morad Bey's house forms the defence. This wall is very thin, and not high enough to render an escalade difficult; but to

delay the immediate approach, a chain of redoubts was thrown forwards about sixty yards; yet the whole resistance would have proved insignificant, if the strength of the garrison had not prevented an assault. Such were Cairo and its out-works. In this state, defended by ten thousand men, and with three hundred and sixty-three serviceable pieces of cannon, including the fifty removed by the French, did the whole surrender without the firing of a shot.

Several questions will naturally arise on which military men must form their own opinions, as one recorded here might be supposed to express the general sentiments of the English army, and thus prejudice the judgment of others not so interested. Four queries are most important.

Was Cairo, with the means the French possessed, a tenable place against the army which attacked, until the rising of the Nile?

Or did the force of the combined army and the hostility of the inhabitants subject the garrison, in the event of holding out some time, to the moral certainty of destruction?

Should at all events a commander, placed as
General

General Belliard was, have resisted as long as possible?

Or did the terms he obtained benefit his country as much as a more vigorous defence?

Particular attention must be paid to the period when the Nile is so increased as to overflow its banks, and inundate the country, from which a certain time must then be deducted for the march of an army, in order to avoid its being overtaken by the waters; therefore as the Nile generally rises to its highest elevation in the beginning of August, the latter end of July will be the latest moment until which an army could remain in the neighbourhood of Cairo without considerable danger. The animosity of the inhabitants is acknowledged; for they would, notwithstanding General Belliard had seized on the persons of the principal Sheiks, have certainly risen on the first occasion, and from the desertion of the auxiliary Coptic battalions (who after the success of the Vizir concealed themselves almost to a man*), many of them would have had arms; but whether his force was strong enough

* The Vizir maintained a constant correspondence with the chiefs of these corps.

to have opposed his exterior, and kept in subjection the interior enemies, is a question which must now resolve itself on that estimate of strength which may be attributed to a concentrated force of ten thousand picked men, provided with a powerful field artillery, and a considerable cavalry (having the advantage of strong works, in acting against which the assailants must be divided by a broad river), when opposed to enemies thus separated, whose total force did not exceed four thousand five hundred Europeans, and twenty-five thousand Turks, provided with a very feeble field artillery, and a still weaker battering train.

To resolve the third subject of enquiry, the discontented state of General Belliard's garrison must be placed against its efficiency, which makes his a peculiar case; and the last must rest on the degree of importance attached to the preservation of Alexandria to France, and how far the surrender of Cairo, even with the advantages of the delay in the evacuation, accelerated the fall of that fortress.

The French council of war which deliberated on the measure afterwards adopted, was composed of eight generals, four of whom, Robin,
Lagrange,

Lagrange, Duranton, and Bron, voted against the surrender; the chefs des brigades were then called in, when a majority of voices decided for it. But Dupas, who commanded the citadel, positively refused to give it up, declaring that he had orders from General Menou to defend that fort to the last extremity, and that his opinion also coincided with his duty; nor would he, till after repeated injunctions, submit to the orders of General Belliard. General Menou, in sending thus private instructions to Dupas, seemed to anticipate and disapprove of the decision of the council of war; indeed, his orders afterwards respecting the surrender were very severe; but, interested as he was in the event, his opinion must be received with caution.

General Reynier justifies the surrender on the previous grounds, adding, that there was a scarcity of ammunition, each gun having only one hundred and fifty rounds; an argument by no means just, for in all moral probability, a third only of those guns would have been in action, as the points attacked could not have employed the service of more; and as 100,000 pounds of powder were found, independent of what was carried away by the garrison, this cannot be admitted

mitted as a plea even for deliberation as to the sufficiency.

He also represents a scarcity of provisions : the magazines were on the contrary amply provided until the rising of the Nile ; and if they were not, he criminales indeed his friend, who had for so long a time an abundant country open to him, and yet did not secure a sufficient subsistence ; for however he might have predetermined on the surrender, still he should have been prepared in every possible way for his defence, since contingencies might always occur to change the face of existing circumstances. General Belliard's case is indeed very hard, when he has thus to defend himself from friends as well as enemies.

On the 14th of July General Hutchinson presented the officers of each English regiment with a puncheon of Sicilian wine, which proved a most agreeable donation to them, for many had not tasted a drop of any kind since their leaving Alexandria ; never, indeed, had an army before been so abstemious, and consequently so well conducted.

On

On the 15th, at day-break, the French totally evacuated Giza, and with the allied army began their march for Rosetta. The Turks preceded, the British army followed; then the French, with flanking parties of their own cavalry on their left, and the English cavalry, with two beydoms of Mamelukes, closed the rear. The Nile was covered with dgerms, the French using for their sick and baggage three hundred. The immense quantity of vessels, the variety of colours, &c. rendered the scene extremely picturesque, and was altogether undoubtedly the handsomest sight ever witnessed in Egypt.

General Hutchinson remained at Cairo, not only being ill, but wishing to settle the arrangements for the government of Egypt, and reinstate the Mamelukes, as he was by treaty bound to effect. General Craddock being extremely unwell also, was obliged to stop at Giza, and the command of the army devolved on General Moore.

This march was perhaps the most extraordinary ever made. The variety of nations which composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered it peculiarly important and interesting.

The

The Captain Pacha had been reinforced from the Vizir's army by fifteen hundred Arnauts, who engaged to proceed as far as Rosetta. The 30th had joined the main army, being replaced by the 86th, who remained under Colonel Stuart's orders. The detachment of the 86th, there being only one hundred and sixty rank and file, and fifty of the company's artillery originally embarked, but whom General Reynier augments into General Baird's army, failed with Admiral Blanket (on his application for this force to attack Suez, in order to interrupt any establishment of the French) from Bombay on the 28th of December, 1800. In the middle of January the admiral reached Moka, where he remained two days to get provisions, and arrived at Jedda in the beginning of February, from whence his squadron was near three months in attempting to beat up to Suez, where they could not arrive until the latter end of April, when they occupied that town, the French having evacuated the place about the 13th of the same month, in consequence of the events which had occurred on the Mediterranean shores. During the passage a fever had broke out, and carried off many soldiers and sailors.

After the success of the English at Rhamanieh,
and

and the advance of the Vizir, Colonel Loyd, who commanded the detachment, had so often expressed an anxiety to share in the dangers and honours of the army, that General Hutchinson consented to his passing the Desert, particularly as at the siege of Cairo, which was then supposed to be a necessary undertaking, the assistance even of such a number was a desirable object.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 7th of June Colonel Loyd began his march, with an allowance of only three pints of water per man for forty-eight hours, and from the leaky state of the skins, even that quantity could not be infused. Arab Sheiks were the guides whom the Vizir had furnished, and made responsible for the safe passage of the detachment. The distance from Suez to Cairo is in a straight line not more than fifty-eight miles; but the conductors, fearing that the French might endeavour to intercept the detachment, had informed Colonel Loyd that a detour of ten or twelve miles would be necessary. The day had been very sultry, thermometer 100, which heat, as night drew on, diminished to 94. Before nine o'clock three officers, Captain Cuyler, and Lieutenants Morse and Goodfellow, were taken so ill as to be unable to proceed. At eleven o'clock, after a march of
twelve

twelve miles, Colonel Loyd halted for two hours, when, as the thermometer fell to 86, the troops moved again, and continued marching till seven o'clock in the morning. The day then became so intolerably hot, that Colonel Lloyd, contrary to his first intention, on account of the trouble and exertion necessary to load and unload the camels, ordered tents to be pitched, that the men till evening might find shelter from the sun. Twenty-six miles of the journey were calculated to be past, which made this rest not altogether to be regretted.

At ten o'clock A. M. the guides came to Colonel Loyd, and acquainted him that the troops should immediately advance, as the day threatened to be extremely hot, and if the camels rested on the sand, their limbs would soon be debilitated by the heat, and that they would require water before they could move again; whereas, if kept advancing, they would neither be affected by the burning ground, nor the heat of the atmosphere, in so fatal a degree; adding also, that when the soldiers were asleep, they suspected the camel drivers might steal the water, which they feared, from the state of the skins, would now be found scarcely sufficient.

These

These arguments, and a reflection that the guides being responsible for the march should have their wishes as much as possible complied with, determined Colonel Loyd to proceed. The tents were therefore struck, and at eleven o'clock A. M. the march recommenced, thermometer then 109. Captain Cuyler, who had previously joined in a very feeble state, soon fainted again, and fell from his horse; when a camel with two men were left to bring him on.

About one o'clock Colonel Loyd finding the men were dropping fast in the rear, halted the detachment, and with the wish of affording relief to the fatigue and sufferings of the soldiers, cut off from the camels his own baggage, which example was followed by all the officers. As many men as could be carried were then mounted on the camels, and the whole proceeded. At two o'clock the thermometer rose to 116, and at that time a camſcen or ſouth wind began to blow. The dreadful ſenfation of the atmosphere when the wind is in that quarter has previously been deſcribed, and here its effects were felt aggravated with every horror. Colonel Loyd persevered till four o'clock P. M. when the ſituation of the detachment obliged him to ſtop. Many officers and ſoldiers were ſeized with giddineſs

and loss of fight, whilst others fell down gasping for breath, and calling out for drink.

On examining the skins, it was found that the sun had cracked them, so that they leaked considerably, and the water remaining had become a puddle of a very thick consistence, and full of maggots. Necessity, however, required that this wretched drink should be distributed, and the men swallowed it with avidity. Vomiting and violent pains in the bowels were the immediate consequences. Colonel Loyd finding this, directed that no more should be served.

The officers had brought with them a certain proportion of Madeira wine, which they now divided amongst the soldiers, some spirits were mixed with the remaining water, and each man had his proportion poured into his own canteen. The whole were then warned that every drop was in their possession, that half the journey had not been performed, and that on their own prudence must depend whether or not they should be enabled to accomplish the rest.

The residue of spirits was spilt on the ground, as Colonel Loyd dreaded that such temptation might produce fatal consequences.

These

These arrangements occupied the time till past six o'clock, when the wind died away, and as the sun declined, the air became more temperate. Colonel Lloyd supposes that the thermometer (he had unfortunately lost his own when the baggage was cut away) must have risen in the course of the afternoon to 140.

The wine had considerably refreshed every body, yet still a languor pervaded the whole. At seven o'clock the order for marching was given. Seventeen men, unable to travel even on the backs of camels, were necessarily left on the ground, and with them camels, that they might follow in two hours.

At eleven o'clock at night the detachment again halted, after a march of six miles, in which several officers and men, and Colonel Loyd also, felt the extraordinary sensation of seeing horses, camels, and all kinds of animals constantly moving with the rapidest transition before them, which false perception their judgment could not correct. The night was excessively dark, and every one so fatigued, that unconquerable sleep seized upon all, during which the Arabs contrived to steal, amongst other things, a trunk, containing money. At four o'clock in the morning the

guides awoke Colonel Loyd, and the foldiers formed with difficulty into order of march, as a very heavy dew having fallen during the night, their limbs were fo benumbed with cold that they could fearcely move. The feventeen men had not joined; but as the foldiers complained of great drought, and thirty miles of Defert ftill feperated them from the fprings, Colonel Loyd did not think it advifeable to lofe the advantage of a cool morning by waiting for that party. The camfeen began again at the fame hour as the day before; the foldiers were not, however, affected in the fame fevere degree. By great perfeverance, notwithstanding the intreaties of many to ftop, Colonel Loyd, between four and five o'clock in the evening of the fame day, reached the fprings of Elhanka, and the joy of the people was naturally very great; there had been fome ftragglers, but by eight o'clock all the camels came up, and during the night, the men who from giddinefs had fallen from off their backs joined.

The foldiers were not guilty of the excefs in drinking water at the fprings, which it was feared would have been the cafe, but two officers' horfes breaking loofe, ran to the wells, and drank till they died on the fpot. What muft have been
the

the sufferings of these animals, deprived of food and water from the evening of the 6th till the evening of the 8th, during the greatest part of which time the lungs only inhaled fiery air? No man had either tasted a morsel of any thing after quitting Suez, but food would rather have increased the drought, and under this idea all the rations of salt pork were thrown away the first morning. It was impossible to have brought fresh meat, as none could be procured at Suez, nor would any have kept three hours on the march.

The course of the first forty miles had been N. N. W. over a hard sand, and the last thirty N. W. by W. of which the first ten was over rising ground, and the last twenty in a very deep heavy sand. During the whole march, no vegetation whatsoever, bird or beast, had been seen.

During the day of the 9th of June eight of the seventeen men left behind joined, but the remainder never have been heard of. As Cairo was only twelve miles distant, Colonel Loyd halted till dark at the springs, not presuming with so small a force to risk discovery. After marching all night, about eleven o'clock A. M. on the 10th of June he joined the Grand Vizir's

army encamped at Chobra, and pitched his tents with Colonel Stuart's division.

Never were soldiers in a more pitiable condition ; for in consequence of the plague, they had been obliged to burn all their uniforms, and on their march had lost their knapsacks, &c. but being uncommonly fine men, their appearance excited great interest. Captain Cuyler, who had got safe back to Suez, joined on the 16th of June, also Lieutenants Morse and Goodfellow ; they had passed the Desert with a caravan proceeding into the interior.

On the 14th of July the 86th and four companies of the 89th occupied the Fort Ibrahim Bey. On the 15th the remainder of the 89th evacuated the citadel, and took possession of Giza. On the 16th Lieutenant Budgin arrived from General Baird, with the intelligence of his having reached Cunei with a division of his army.

General Baird had sailed from India in the latter end of the month of December, with the view of co-operating with the army from Europe destined to invade Egypt, and a division of troops from the Cape were ordered to join him in the Red Sea. His object was to land at Suez,
and

and act according to those circumstances he should become acquainted with there, since at such a distance no positive operations could have been prescribed. The hope was, however, always entertained that he would arrive in time to assist the European army even in debarkation, by dividing the French force. Unfortunately, the monsoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red Sea, in the month of April, and it was found impossible to gain his destination; but learning at Jedda the successes of the English on the 21st of March, which intelligence had been transmitted to him by Admiral Blanket,* he determined to land at Cossir, and brave the difficulties of the Desert, in the hopes of affording a considerable support to General Hutchinson, and contributing to the final conquest of the country.

On the 8th of June he arrived at Cossir, and found Colonel Murray, the adjutant general, who had preceded him, and reached that port

* A constant communication had been maintained with Admiral Blanket, and a naval officer twice passed from Lord Keith to Suez. The first letter written by the Admiral to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, but which General Hutchinson received at Rosetta, was in cyphers, the key of which was lost, and therefore could not be translated.

with a very small advanced guard on the 14th of May; but the greater part of the army was still missing, and none of the troops from the Cape had arrived. Anxious, however, to promote the general service, he employed himself in preparing the means for enabling his army to pass the Desert, in which he was assisted by the Vizir's firmans, and in a short time he saw himself provided with five thousand camels. Having made the necessary dispositions, he set out for Cunei (or Kinnéh), where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining divisions, facilitating their passage by establishing posts at the different wells in the Desert, and digging others; issuing at the same time the orders to be seen in the Appendix of this work, for the regulation of the march of each succeeding column. It was not till the latter end of July that his army had assembled, and even then several detachments were missing: the collected force, including the troops from the Cape, amounted to 5226 rank and file, and was composed of the following regiments and corps:

Royal artillery.

Bengal horse artillery.

Bengal foot ditto.

Madras

Madras ditto.
 Bombay ditto.
 Royal Engineers.
 Bengal ditto }
 Madras ditto } No men.
 Bombay ditto }
 Madras Pioneers.
 His Majesty's 8th light dragoons.
 10th foot.
 6th ditto.
 80th ditto.
 86th ditto.
 88th ditto.
 Bengal Volunteers, Native Infantry.
 1st Bombay Regiment, ditto.
 7th ditto, ditto.

The respective quota furnished by the different establishments to which these corps belonged, is thus to be divided :

	<i>Men.</i>
East India Company's artillery, &c.	448
Ditto ditto native troops - - -	1940
King's troops - - - - -	2838

	5226

To

To which must be added	} 271 officers, of which 53 were natives.
	331 Serjeants.
	125 Drummers.
	440 Lascars.
	276 Servants not foldiers.
	572 Public followers.
	305 Private ditto.

2320

Which makes a general total of 7546 persons, including sick, &c.

As the march across the Desert, which separates Egypt from the Red sea, must offer peculiar interest to those who peruse the detail, with their attention at the same time directed to India, an account chiefly furnished by Colonel Carruthers of the 61st follows, which it was thought better to insert here, that the ideas might not be interrupted, and particularly as no event of moment occurred to General Moore's army during the period which this narrative, in some degree, too soon introduces.

The effective force ordered from the Cape to Egypt was to consist of about twelve hundred men.

The

The 61st regiment, a troop of the 8th light dragoons dismounted, and a company of English artillery, formed this strength.

Sir Home Popham, with the *Romney* and *Sensible*, sailed from the Cape on the 28th of February, 1801, having on board the two flank companies, and one battalion company of the 61st, the dismounted troop of the 8th, and a company of artillery.

The remaining seven companies of the 61st did not leave the Cape until the 30th of March, in consequence of the jail fever having broke out in the ships *Sheerness* and *Wilhelmina*, which brought out the 65th regiment, composed chiefly of boys, and which distemper carried off a great number of them, as well as of the sailors. The admiral, Sir R. Curtis, apprehensive of contagion, would not allow fresh troops to be embarked in these ships until they had been properly fumigated and cleared out, the good effects of which precaution the 61st experienced, as they landed at *Coffir* on the 10th of July, then having been near sixteen weeks on board, without having one sick man, although the strength of the regiment exceeded nine hundred men. At *Coffir* was found the *Sensible*, which had arrived

rived near three weeks. The troops were disembarked, and encamped with part of the army from India, and with whom they had originally been destined to co-operate.

At Cossir the heat was very intense, the thermometer 96 and upwards; the water very bad, being impregnated with a saltpetre taste, causing violent vomiting and a species of dysentery, with excessive thirst.

This complaint almost every one on first landing was attacked with, but it did not prove fatal, and indeed was thought rather eventually to render service. General Baird had arrived from Jedda with Sir Home Popham at Cossir about three weeks before, had crossed the Desert, and was at this time at Kinnéh, awaiting the arrival of his army, of which a great part had not yet made their way up the Red Sea.

The 20th of July Colonel Carruthers left Cossir with a division of six hundred men of the 61st. Camels were appointed for the baggage and provisions, from those bought by General Baird; but when water at night was not to be had, camels from the last wells accompanied with it,
and

and then returned again the next day to their post.

The three first days march the troops passed in a ravine, which seemed to be the old bed of a river, and which commenced a little way from Cossir, and terminated at Moilah. At Moilah and also Legaitta were posts of seapoys, which General Baird had stationed, and depôts of provisions, from whence the troops in passing were supplied with sheep and biscuits. The wells, excepting two or three which the Arabs had formed, had been dug by the seapoys, these were not deep. The soil was clayish, the water brackish, yet had not the effect of that at Cossir.

Although the troops marched by night, on account of the diminution of heat, as during the day the thermometer rose to 110 and 115 degrees, still they suffered greatly from thirst; for unless the frequent inclination to drinking was resisted, however painful the effort, it was soon ascertained that the indulgence but augmented the desire. Water alone, or infused with a little vinegar, was found the best allayer of thirst; a very small quantity taken at a time, and kept as long as possible in the mouth, only occasionally wetting the throat, afforded the greatest relief.

The

The men suffered also considerably from an almost irresistible oppression of sleep, which might be accounted for from the heat, slowness of the marching, and its duration, generally eight or ten hours being required to perform the allotted distances; for although the route from Cossir to Kinnéh is stated at only one hundred and twenty miles, there cannot be a doubt but that the actual extent exceeds that calculation considerably.

From Moilah to Barimba the Desert was generally of a very hard gravelly soil, with a very uneven surface. The route of the march continued in ravines, but which preserved no longer the appearance of any river having ever flowed in them.

Every where the cannon passed with facility, the principal part of which was drawn by bullocks, brought with the army from India.

Barimba, or Bahconra, is the first habitable spot which is to be met with after leaving Cossir; not even the smallest hut had been previously seen. This little town lies on the borders of the Desert, and is rated at ten miles distance from Kinnéh, yet in fact it is nearer twenty. Here
the

the Arabs fold milk, eggs, and poultry, in great plenty, and very cheap.

On the 29th of July Colonel Carruthers arrived at Kinnéh, with the loss only of one drum boy, which good fortune must be attributed to the positive orders given to the officer commanding the rear guard not to allow of any man's stopping behind, to ensure which necessary regulation, camels were left with his party to bring on those who might fall sick. The soldiers, notwithstanding they knew their imprudence must be dreadfully fatal to them, often attempted to conceal themselves on the march, that they might lie down and sleep.

Altogether many men were lost in this miserable way, for miserable indeed must have been the manner of their deaths, and horrible the sufferings they experienced previous to their dissolution.

The route of the army from Cofir to Kinnéh was thus prescribed :

Cofir to the new wells	11 miles,	water.
Half way to Moilah	17	no water.
Arabs post called Moilah	17 provisions & water.	
		Advanced

Advanced wells	9	water.
Half way to Legaitta	19	no water.
Arabs post called Legaitta	19	provisions & water.
Barimba	18	water.
Kinnéh	10	the Nile.
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	120*	
	<hr/>	

An important observation must be added, that there is good reason to believe water may be obtained in any part of the Desert, and that it is in such quantities as to ensure a constant supply to the wells; for when drunk perfectly dry, in twelve hours they were replenished again.

The troops from India brought muskatts or leather bags to contain the water in, which perished, and frequently occasioned much distress. Water kegs or barrels alone were found to resist the heat. With the Turkish army these muskatts, or rather a pig's skin sewed together, were used, and proved of vast service. Being constantly dipped in the Nile, they were kept always wet, which preserved them. When the English army

* A dromedary can pass this distance in twenty-four hours, but thirty-six is the general time taken.

was on its march to Cairo, the foldiers were frequently fuffering the moft extreme thirft, whilst the Turks had always abundance of water, as to each company was a water-carrier, who affixed one of thefe fkins on each fide of a horfe, and every man as he paffed helped himfelf. Indeed this was the beft arranged and conducted department in the Turkish fervice.

General Hutchinfon found himfelf compelled to order General Baird to proceed to Cairo, although he much wifhed to have allowed of his re-embarkation with his army, as there were other very important objects for that body of troops to be employed on; but fince it appeared evident from Admiral Gantheaume's near approach to Alexandria, that the French government were making ftrong efforts to throw fuccours into Egypt, and as the country was not yet abfolutely conquered, thefe with fome confidential reafons determined him in the opinion that he was not authorized to run any risk by difpenfing with fuch a powerful force, fent exprefsly to aid him: Lieutenant Budgin was therefore fent back with thefe inftructions.

General Hutchinfon remained in the houfe of Rofetti, the Imperial Conful, at Cairo, and

anxiously endeavoured to protect those whom his country's faith was pledged to support. Morad Bey's widow had been turned out of her residence by some Turkish chieftain, and even Ibrahim Bey could not get admittance into his own. The general immediately insisted on their being put in undisturbed possession, and not only succeeded in that demand, but obtained an unequivocal firman, declaring that the Mamelukes should be reinstated in all their rights and dignities. He avowed at the same time, that it was not either his wish, or that of his government, to encourage rebellion against the Porte, and therefore stipulated that the Beys should pay their tribute regularly, and that the Turkish Pacha should no longer be kept as an honorary prisoner, but command a body of troops sufficient to make his authority respectable.

This Magna Charta had been definitively signed, after much communication and firmness displayed by the general; still the Mamelukes remained in the island of Rhoda, and refused to enter the town of Cairo, dreading treachery whilst the Turks continued there in such force.

General Moore's army and the French had proceeded quietly towards Rosetta, encamping
each

each night in the order they marched; but on taking up the ground, the French always formed three sides of a square on the banks of the Nile, placing their artillery and baggage in the centre.

Their mode of marching was extremely irregular and straggling, whilst the British troops preserved the most correct order, exciting the admiration of the French officers. Indeed, the arrangement of the march was highly creditable to General Moore, and the oldest officers present of the French army declared, that it was throughout a most beautiful disposition and movement.

At Déroute the French passed the English, in order to be ready for the embarkation. The real effective state of their army was then ascertained, as the principal English officers posted themselves at a narrow pass to see them file by. They could scarcely, however, credit their own sight, when they beheld an army of above ten thousand men, with fifty pieces of artillery and its complement of ammunition, defile before them, independent of the guards, &c. in the dgerms. It was now that, connecting this unexpectedly formidable power with the rising of the Nile, which at this time began to reach the top of its

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banks,

banks, the true importance of the capitulation was acknowledged.

Nor could those in command restrain themselves from confessing that the ignorance of the enemy's force had saved them many anxious nights; for the calculation of security was to be formed on the strength which could command it, not in the faith of treaties and honourable confidence. The maxim of war is positive, *in inimicis nulla fides*.

Amongst the French troops was the detachment of dromedaries, which had escaped into Giza; they did not chuse to risk a fortie, and indeed were very glad to be included in the capitulation, although their commanding officer was much vexed at their refusal to attempt a return to Alexandria.

Brigadier General Oakes had been sent from Cairo, to arrange with Lord Keith the embarkation of the French. By extraordinary exertion, transports were victualled and prepared for their reception against the 31st of July.

The armies had encamped at Elhammed, within four miles of Rosetta, on the 28th, when that
town

town soon presented a motley scene of the greatest interest and curiosity; the streets were filled with French, Turks, English, Mamelukes, &c. Horses, swords, and, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave trade, hundreds of black girls were exposed to sale by the French officers; but the traffic of females was so dull, that the French were obliged to offer with them a premium.

The poor creatures sat weeping piteously the loss of their masters, and deploring the too certain punishment they should receive from the Turks for their connexion with Christians.

The strictest order was preserved in the town; but the Arabs could not conceal their delight whenever they saw any French were marched as prisoners by the English guard for having behaved irregularly. This was a triumphant exultation, too natural to be checked altogether, yet every effort was made to render it as little offensive as possible.

On the 29th General Hutchinson, who had received at Cairo the letter announcing his Majesty's high approbation of his conduct, and of his being decorated with the order of the Bath,

arrived at Rosetta; he came in a barge, provided by the Vizir, which was rowed the whole way by the same people, who laboured at the oar with the most astonishing perseverance; and as a constant gale of wind blows up the Nile, during the day (and for the three days the general was on the water, it was particularly violent) the exertion was surprising, and proves of what labour these people are capable. A dgerm which failed at the same time did not arrive for twelve hours afterwards, and for the first two days the boat was considerably detained to keep her company.

The general on leaving Cairo conceived that every proper arrangement had been made for the government of Egypt, consistent with the promises of his government, and the Grand Signor's stipulations. He had secured for the Indian army its supplies, and left the Mamelukes impressed with gratitude towards him.

In the house of Rosetti he had continued during his stay, and was entertained with every attention and mark of hospitality, which that accomplished, well informed, and generous man could lavish.

Rosetti

Rofetti was a person endowed with very superior qualifications. It was from him that Savary, Volney, and Sonini acquired most of their information, and no one was better acquainted with the history of Egypt. A resident for many years, he became the intimate friend and counsellor of Ali Bey; and had that great man adopted latterly his advice, his fortune and fate might have been more worthy of his character. Turks, Copts, and Christians, all united in esteem for Rofetti: they considered him as their universal benefactor, and when the Vizir requested a visit from him, he was received with the most distinguished attention a Frank had ever experienced, and as he passed through the streets, the Arabs shouted, "Praise to the Vizir, who honours thus the father of the poor!" Yet, with all these virtues, and a strict neutrality as to politics, he could not escape imprisonment during the government of the French.

The Grand Vizir had anxiously endeavoured to confer every honour on the general; for although the general's honest independence and faithful adherence to the word he had pledged, thwarted his views and intentions, still he could not but admire and revere the character where such virtues existed, and the instructions he re-

ceived from the Porte rendered him more desirous than ever to acquire his regard. These instructions, recommending him to conciliate with and pay every deference to the English commander, had been read aloud at a public ceremony, where he was invested by the Reis Effendi with a superb diamond hilted dagger, presented by the Grand Signior for his victory at Elhanka.

On the 31st the first division of French marched to embark at the caravanfary, that place being judged more convenient and secure than Rosetta, on account of the Boghaz.

This embarkation continued successively for ten days, with the intermission of one on account of the fatigue of the camels, whose backs were also wrung into a jelly of corruption. Neither interest, humanity, or the natural instinct with which these animals are endowed to resist in some degree the cruel oppression of man, by an obstinate refusal to rise when too heavily laden, protected these willing, patient, and useful creatures, whose goodness and utility corrected the prejudice their ugliness would otherwise have excited;* 8 cwt. a camel can carry,

* The Arabs emphatically call them the ship of the Desert.

but 6 cwt. is the proper burthen. The immense weights, and the bad construction of the saddles, constantly kept on, soon bruised the hunch on the back, which festered, and never being attended to, became a burrow for thousands of worms. There was scarcely a camel in Egypt whose back was not in this state, and out of fifteen hundred, which marched from Cairo with the French army, scarce three hundred survived the journey.

The embarkation return of General Belliard's army, as given in to the English General, was as follows :

ARMY OF CAIRO.

Number.

Artillery, cavalry, and infantry,	}	10,856
including officers and non-commissioned officers		
Etat Major - - - -		45
Dromedary corps - - -		177
Miners and sappers - - -		150
Invalids (only fit for garrison duty,		500
Seamen - - - - -		344
Horse and foot guides - - -		40
Sick - - - - -		800

AUXILIARIES.

AUXILIARIES.

Greeks and Copts	-	-	-	600
Mamelukes	-	-	-	160
				—————13,672

EMPLOYES.

Mathematical School	-	-	30
Printing prefs	-	-	26
Library and bureau central	-	15	
Civilians	-	-	11
			————— 82
Grand total, exclusive of women and children	-	-	} 13,754
			—————

To this number must be added five hundred men, who deserted on the march to join the Mamelukes. It was in vain the general endeavoured to discourage this unnatural infatuation; the foldiers refused to return.

Above a hundred of them, who had been kept at work on the bridge of Giza (which by the French not mentioning that the dgerms should be kept bailed out, had nearly been destroyed), although offered to be sent to France, positively insisted on remaining in Egypt.

The

The motive which induced this extraordinary resolution was probably ambition, if in such worthless people, who thus voluntarily submitted in the hopes of future aggrandisement to degradations of the vilest nature, any noble passion could exist.

The divisions of the shipping failed as soon as each was ready. The French were by no means pleased with the rations of salt pork, biscuit, and Marcella wine issued to them, although the quality and proportion were the same as given to the English troops; they were also excessively indignant, notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation, at not having, according to their rank, the increased allowance, forgetting that at sea a general cannot eat more than a soldier, and what difficulty there was to carry even a sufficient supply for the necessary support of the people on board. This regulation in the British service, although so just and reasonable in its principle, had before excited General Desaix's resentment against Lord Keith; that general conceiving that the order was made to ridicule French equality, if not to insult him; or that if the rule was general, it should have been broken through in favour of him and his officers. He did not know that there was in England an auditor's office, and
other

other formidable barriers to unusual public expenditures. Some of the French troops even conducted themselves so riotously, that at last Lord Keith was compelled to declare, that he would fire into the first ship on board of which he heard a tumult, which menace preserved order afterwards.

General Belliard was offered by Captain Clarke* a passage in the cabin of the Braakel, which

* Captain Clarke's brother came to Egypt, having made with Mr. Cripps (instead of whose name that of Mr. Harvey was substituted by mistake in the first edition) one of the most considerable and interesting tours which travellers could accomplish. After having passed all over the continent, they proceeded by the Crimea to Constantinople; from thence they visited all the islands in the Archipelago, and remained some time in examining the plains of Troy, which Mr. Clarke, in opposition to Mr. Carlisle, maintains exactly to correspond with Homer's description, and of which he is so convinced as to imagine that he saw the actual graves of the principal heroes slain in that war. Some Greek inscriptions, which he has brought home from thence, may probably illustrate in some degree this dispute, which it is almost to be lamented was ever agitated. After visiting every thing remarkable in Asia Minor, they arrived in Egypt; but as Cairo was not then taken, they went to Jerusalem and Acre. Returning again to Egypt, they proceeded to Cairo, with the intention of visiting Faoum and Thebes, and from thence to return home by the Morea and France. Their collection is extremely

which he very handsomely declined on account of his large suite, selecting the Duke of York transport,

extremely valuable, and is destined to adorn one of the colleges of Cambridge; and Mr. Clarke, from the zeal he has shewn, will no doubt give the world much information.

Since the first edition I have been favoured with a more particular account of the travels and researches of these gentlemen, who have acquired considerable credit to their country, and whose example should influence other travellers.

The extent of their travels comprehends 39 degrees of north latitude, viz. from $29\frac{1}{2}$ to $68\frac{1}{2}$, and 45 degrees of east longitude. They are bounded to the north by the frontiers of Finmark, and to the south by the catacombs of Saguara, in Upper Egypt. To the east they extend as far as the most eastern course of the Don, the ancient Tanais. They passed through Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Lapland, Finland, Russia, the Deserts of the Don Cossacks, Kuban, Tartary, Circassia, and the Crimea. Afterwards, in Turkey, they visited the plain of Troy, and confirmed by their own observation the truth of Mr. Chevalier's observations relative to the identity of the place, the tombs, &c. They discovered, moreover, the mound of the plain, and the tomb of Ilus, and the city of New Ilium. Mr. Clarke ascertained the temperature of the sources of the Scamander, and they were the first travellers who ever surmounted the Glaciers, on the summit of Ida, and ascended to Gargarus, the highest point of that range of mountains, and at whose base they found the ruins of Jupiter Liberator.

Afterwards they visited Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, where in the Delta they discovered the ruins of the city of Sais, which

transport, a remarkably large and fine vessel, to sail in.

The men of war refused to take on board the vast quantity of ammunition which the French wished to carry, and the whole was thrown into the sea. The officers who were allowed to sell their horses found a market for them; those carried to France (eighty horses and mares and one

which had escaped the observations of the French Scavans, although the ruins covered a great tract of land. These ruins are situated about a mile from the eastern bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, very near the situation designated by D'Anville, and a little beyond the canal of Belhin to the north, joining the Rosetta with the Damietta branch. The village is called Silhadger, and is opposite where the battle of Chabriſſa was fought. They found that the account given by historians of this place exactly corresponds with the present appearance, and that the water of the Nile is admitted during the inundation into an area surrounding the temple of Isis; from the ruins of which temple they also brought home many curious monuments of antiquity, and more beautiful sculpture than is usually found among the works of Egyptian artists. Returning from Egypt, they went to all the Grecian isles, to Athens, to the Morea, and to the plain of Marathon; they ascended the summits of the mountains Hymettus, Helicon, and Parnassus, and passed through Bœotia, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, to Constantinople; from thence through Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Germany, and France, to England.

camel)

camel) were not worth much. The Egyptian horse bears but little value, and the breed of Arabia Felix is very difficult to be procured. In that country the price of a real Yemen horse, whose genealogy is certified by the sheriff of Mecca, is from five to eight hundred pounds, and there were not above two or three seen during the residence of the French in Egypt.

The baggage was enormous which the French army transported, and some of the articles were not private property, particularly the presses and foundry, bridles of the horses, with the Mameluke bits; yet although General Hutchinson did not choose to enter into a dispute about things of such little consequence, the conduct of the French, in taking them away, was not the less reprehensible.

The general's health being extremely bad, he was obliged to go on board Lord Keith's ship, in the hopes of sea air recovering him, and where he proposed to remain until the English army of Cairo joined General Coote before Alexandria.

The difference of climate between Alexandria and Cairo was immediately felt, and the change proved most agreeable. By the thermometer the
tempera-

temperature was reduced twelve degrees, and the fine breezes which blew from the sea rendered the sensation still more refreshing.

General Coote's army was in remarkably high order, and of considerable strength, as the reinforcements from England had arrived in the beginning of July, consisting of the 22d dragoons, a detachment of Guards, two battalions of the 20th regiment of infantry, the 24th, 25th, and 26th, the ancient Irish fencibles, drafts for several regiments, and the foreign regiments of Watteville and Chasseurs Britanniques, amounting to about eighteen hundred men. The corps of Watteville was composed of Swifs, who enlisted from the disbanded regiments. They had been in British pay for two years, and had served several campaigns, when attached to the Imperial armies, with a gallantry which will long be recorded to the honour of themselves and their nation.

The latter corps was composed of the *débris* of that Condean army, which, under a prince who so nobly maintained the fame and honour of his house, a warrior inferior to none in Europe, can never be mentioned without recollections of its valour, devotion, and misfortunes.

This

This army had alternately been in the pay of Austria, Russia, and England; but at the conclusion of the peace between France and Austria, Great Britain was constrained to disband the whole of the foreign troops in her pay on the continent. Individuals, however, of them were re-enlisted, who embarked at Trieste on the 10th of June, 1801, and arrived in Aboukir Bay the 1st of August following.

Such corps, excellently commanded, perfectly satisfied with their capitulation, the superintendance of which was entrusted to Major Byng, who succeeded in faithfully discharging the duties of his situation, and at the same time acquiring their general esteem, would have been a very valuable acquisition to England in the event of their services having been required in the field; and this benefit may now be anticipated, that a respect for the character and integrity of British engagements, will ensure from Switzerland a reinforcement on future emergencies, which certainly is the most desirable connexion from every consideration the British service could form.*

Gene-

* The regiment of Rolle, chiefly composed of Swiss, formed part of the foreign brigade, which served in Egypt with such

General Coote's exertions had been unremitting: he had himself every morning ridden round the lines an hour before day-break, and was incessantly employed in making the most useful arrangements for the health and comfort of his troops, as well as occupied with precautions for their security, and completing the works of their position. His mind had suffered frequently the greatest anxiety, when from the sickly state of the army he had only three thousand two hundred men fit for duty in his camp, but by his judicious directions the renovation of its strength was much accelerated.

high distinction. Baron D'Huiller, one of the few of the Swiss Guards, who escaped the massacre of the 10th of August, commanded it. This excellent officer, and estimable man, is since dead.

END OF VOL. I.



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